Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: Beginning Monday, 26 February 1990, the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT will feature a new section entitled "REGIONAL AFFAIRS." It is divided into five subsections: "Baltic Republics" (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia); "RSFSR" (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic); "Western Republics" (Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia); "Caucasus" (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia); and "Central Asia" (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Kazakhstan). The new "REGIONAL AFFAIRS" section will include material from all sources on exclusively regional matters, including Moscow central media coverage of developments at the regional level and of central leadership activities and speeches in the republics.

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Chernyshev Laments West's 'War Industry' Support

LD2202181490 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Defence ministers of 13 leading West European NATO member-countries, participating in the European programming group, meet in Gleneagles Scotland. The purpose of the group is to promote cooperation among West European partners in the manufacture, sales and purchases of military equipment.

It should be noted that participants in the meeting showed a surprising identity of views that the war industry still has a future.

British Defence Secretary Tom King said the market for military equipment will remain considerable.

One gets the impression that leaders of the defence establishments are unaware what is taking place in Europe. They seem to overlook the process of disarmament gaining momentum, unilateral steps of the Soviet Union and other East European countries to reduce armaments and forces, and swift changes in the policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Consider the Soviet Union. Its movement to defence sufficiency includes radical changes in the military budget and in armaments manufacture. In 1990-1991, its military spending is to decrease by ten billion roubles, by 14 per cent.

On the whole the saving as compared with the earlier endorsed five-year plan will amount to nearly 30 billion roubles, a sum that makes up roughly 40 per cent of the Soviet Union's present annual defence budget.

The volume of arms manufacture in 1989-1990 will decrease by almost one-fifth. The conversion of the war industries to civilian production will continue. The volume of civilian products in the output of the defence complex will grow from 40 per cent in the current year to 60 per cent in 1995.

But all these gestures of goodwill, just as substantial changes in the military-political situation in Europe, seem to have no effect on the western military-industrial complex which refuses to retreat from its positions.

No matter what happens, the military-industrial complex resists any "encroachments" on its dividends resulting from arms sales. This indicates who is not interested in the scaling down of the arms race and who will continue to place obstacles to disarmament and exert pressure on politicians.

Nevertheless, people in almost all West European countries, and also in the United States, are against keeping military spending at the present level.

There is the growing awareness of the need to cut military programmes and give up all plans of rearming. Economic limitations require the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

It is time representatives of the western military-industrial complex realise that a new atmosphere is being created and that the old course is unproductive as well as politically disadvantageous.

Further on Progress of CFE Talks in Vienna

5th Round Ends

LD2202184690 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna February 22 TASS—The fifth round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe ended here today. Representatives of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries took part. This round was held on several levels—the summit level, the level of foreign ministers and, of course, the working level, specifically the negotiations at the Hofburg Palace.

This prompted a breakthrough in the solution of a very important problem—the reduction of Soviet and American troops deployed outside their national territory in Europe. Participants in the talks stress the importance of the agreement reached in Ottawa, to the effect that the U.S. and the USSR will have no more than 195,000 ground and air force troops on foreign territory in central Europe.

An intensive quest for mutually acceptable solutions and specific wordings was going on at the Vienna talks. The sides made a number of major steps towards each other, which expanded the spheres of mutual understanding.

Speaking at a press conference here today, Ruediger Hartmann, head of the West German delegation at the talks, said that the round had been full of interesting developments. He believes that the pace of the talks is comparable to the pace of political change in Europe.

Troops To Be Reduced in C. Europe

LD2202204290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Today the fifth round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, the so-called talks of 23, has ended in the capital of Austria. Our correspondent Viktor Mikheyev reports from Vienna.

[Mikheyev] The fifth round was out of the ordinary. One can say that a breakthrough was achieved in resolving such an important issue as the reduction of the strength of Soviet and U.S. troops that are positioned outside their national territories in Europe. The issue of an overall reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe was also predetermined to a considerable degree. The Ottawa meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact and NATO promoted it. However,

according to the evaluation of the Soviet delegation, the pace of the talks should be accelerated at the next round to allow for the conclusion of the treaty on conventional armed forces this year.

The USSR also calls for there to be not just a reduction in Soviet and U.S. troops in Europe to 195,000 personnel of ground and air forces on foreign territories in Europe, but also for an accord to be reached on an overall reduction of troops of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in central Europe to between 700,000 and 750,000. The USSR considers that by 1995 to 1996 all foreign troops should be removed from others' territories in Europe and that by the year 2000 all military bases on foreign territories should be eliminated. This was spoken about at the fifth round.

At this round the NATO countries took a step toward the position of the Warsaw Pact countries by agreeing to establish an independent level for interceptor fighters of the air defense forces. The Warsaw Pact countries, for their part, expressed their readiness to include in the overall level of aircraft the medium bombers TU-16, TU-22, and TU-22m. Accord has not yet been reached on ground-based naval aircraft. Much work was done to work out mutually acceptable definitions of tanks, armored vehicles, and helicopters. A number of questions concerning artillery remained unagreed. The Warsaw Pact countries, to move matters out of the deadend, put forward a compromise proposals to establish a limit for artillery systems of 20,000 units. At the round just ending compromises were also achieved on questions of exchange of information, verification, [kontrol] and about 60 percent of the text of the future treaty on these problems was agreed.

The state of affairs with the work on the treaty as a whole is still going less favorably. In effect, by today, all that has managed to be done is to adopt in preliminary form only two articles and to begin discussing two others. The treaty as a whole is to have over 20 articles. As was stated today by Ambassador Grinevskiy, head of the USSR delegation, in his speech, at the present time there are all the conditions for serious and intensive work to agree on the text of the treaty. What is needed is the maximum mobilization of mutual efforts and reciprocal constructiveness, naturally with necessary attention being paid to each other's security interests.

Historian Views 'Myths' in Arms Control Process

PM2202172890 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 5, 4 Feb 90 p 13

[Andrey Kortunov aricle: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"]

[Text] The forthcoming meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is to be a prelude to this year's main event in Soviet-American relations, Mikhail Gorbachev's June visit to Washington. Shevardnadze and Baker will discuss the visit, spurring on the current negotiations between the two countries which are to prepare a package of possible agreements for the summit.

Even today it is clear that the summit's focal point will be the agreement on the so-called 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive weapons, which is almost ready for signing save a few technicalities. The agreement will crown many years of intense efforts on both sides and as such introduce a qualitatively new, higher level of cooperation betwen the USSR and the USA in the strategic sphere.

At the same time one can't help feeling that the future agreement has given rise to certain myths, well-established stereotypes and illusions. Therefore it will be very important for Shevardnadze and Baker to analyze and assess the future agreement in an unbiased and realistic way, taking into account its strategic and political significance.

Myth No. 1 concerns the accepted name of the future agreement. It should be admitted that the treaty does not aim at halving the two countries' strategic forces: The USSR is supposed to cut 35 per cent of its missile carriers, whereas the USA will cut only 20 per cent of its missiles. The accepted system of calculating strategic bombers (one missile-one warhead) makes it possible to keep the cuts in warheads to the minimum, too.

Another myth prompts us to believe that the future treaty will save substantial amounts of money. But the elimination of missiles has proved an expensive undertaking. More importantly, the treaty will make it possible to actually rebuild the Soviet "stategic triad" by encouraging the development of new strategic bombers, land-based single-warhead missiles and a speedy renovation of sea-based nuclear armaments.

The third myth has to do with the understanding of the treaty as more complex and comprehensive than SALT-2. But in preparing the new treaty, the issues of strategic defence and cruise missiles have been left out. Therefore, the results of the current efforts to qualitatively limit the strategic arms race appear to be more modest than is generally believed. From this point of view, while making one step forward the parties may be taking two steps back.

Finally, there is a myth about the forthcoming treaty as an important stage in our progress towards a nuclear-free world and a complete renunciation of nuclear deterrence-presupposing not only disarmament but also the development of new "rules of fair play" in a nuclear confrontation.

Does this mean that the future treaty is not in the USSR's interests? By no means. We'll be better off with the treaty than without it. The treaty will indeed reduce the types of armaments most dangerous for human survival. It will increase the predictability of military build-ups and keep the parties better informed of each other's plans. Also, it will make for new mechanisms of verification. It should be borne in mind, however, that

the treaty is very vulnerable, both in this country and in the United States. One can easily suppose what line of attack liberals and conservatives, the military and civilians will take against it. One cannot be sure that the process of ratification both by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress will not involve problems.

I feel therefore that before the treaty is finalized, it is important to agree with the Americans about further action in the strategic area, to outline further steps and future agreement. One could suggest the reduction of warhead levels to 2,500-3,000, rigid limitations on the systems of antiaircraft defence and measures of antisubmarine warfare, a compromise over anti-balistic-missile (ABM) systems and sea-based cruise missiles, etc.

Secondly, in the nuclear sphere, as in the sphere of conventional weapons, unilateral measures could be quite successful. For example, we could declare our unwillingness to spend billions in order to reach the strategic aviation ceilings permissible under the future agreement. In my opinion, the principle of an assymmetrical reply could well be used not only in the arms race, but also in the process of disarmament.

Reportage on on Perfilyev's 22 Feb Briefing

Congressmen's Trip to Lithuania

LD2202113390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1042 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—According to information from the USSR Supreme Soviet, the American congressmen who have formed a group with the intention of "observing the forthcoming elections in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "have received no invitation whatsoever from the electoral commissions organizing the elections or from the legislative bodies." This was stated here today by Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Main Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

At the request of the TASS diplomatic correspondent, he commented on the remark by Margaret Tutweiler, U.S. State Department spokeswoman, who stated in Washington that "the refusal by the Soviet authorities to issue visas" to the American congressmen "does not conform to the practice of broad contacts between legislators of the two countries." As Western news agencies have reported, four members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress were invited to Lithuania by "Sajudis", an informal public, political movement in this Baltic republic.

"The question of the congressmen's trip was not agreed upon in advance and was not discussed through diplomatic channels", Vadim Perfilyev added. "Taking all these circumstances into account, the congressmen were told that their trip to the USSR at present would be improper" [nekorektnyy].

"Of course, this decision is in no way connected with the attitude towards the congressmen as individuals," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "The USSR will be glad to welcome them at any suitable time, which should be mutually agreed upon."

EC, USSR Positions on Israel

LD2202141590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1328 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—The position taken by the European Community regarding Israel's creation of settlements on the Arab territories it occupies "fully coincides with the USSR's approach" in this matter, and testifies to the fact that the unlawful actions of the Israeli authorities are subject to widespread condemnation by the world community. This was stated today at a briefing by Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate.

He recalled that on 20 February at its meeting in Dublin, the EC Council of Ministers passed a statement that says in particular the EC member of countries, from the viewpoint of international law, regard the creation of Jewish settlements on the occupied Arab territories, including East Jerusalem as illegal, and express grave concern over the possibility of immigrants arriving in Israel being settled there. The ministers appealed to the Israeli Government "not to jeoparidze the prospects of achieving peace in the region by allowing Jewish immigrants, or encouraging them, to settle in the occupied territories." The ministers also expressed satisfaction at the liberalization of the rules for leaving the USSR, stressing at the same time that the Soviet Jews exercise of the right to leave their country should not be at the expense of the rights of Palestinians.

"The Soviet Union," Vadim Perfilyev noted, "advanced the initiative of a review by the UN Security Council of the matter of the illegal actions by Israel, and presumes that, supported by a true international consensus on this matter, including the coinciding principles of the USSR and the countries of Western Europe, the Council will make an effective decision in the near future preventing Israel's colonization of Palestinian lands."

Horn's Remarks on Joining NATO

LD2202161390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—Commenting on the statements by Hungary's Foreign Minister Gyula Horn about Hungary's possible participation in NATO, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated at a briefing today that "at present, that country is observing the obligations ensuing from its membership in the Warsaw Pact."

At the same time, the Soviet diplomat noted, the Warsaw Pact member states advocate the establishment of contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, both in the political and in the military spheres. "That is in accordance with our approach," he said.

According to Vadim Perfilyev, the USSR is in favor of the creation of a fundamentally new security system in Europe, outside blocs. NATO adheres to largely similar standpoints, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, recalling in this connection the speech in Zurich last Wednesday by Manfred Woerner, secretary general of the North Atlantic bloc, who advocated the development of a world order in which all countries, including the Soviet Union, would tackle security problems jointly.

Israeli Air Route

LD2202163190 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—The Soviet Union and Israel are not linked by direct and regular air services at present, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today. He commented on reports on some news organizations about negotiations regarding such flights.

The spokesman said that there had been several charter flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv to carry teams of

entertainers and sportsmen and that this was a result of the widening humanitarian and cultural contacts between the two countries.

Asked if the Soviet Union links the establishment of direct air services to Israel with the settling of immigrants in the Israel-occupied territories, Perfilyev said that unlike Washington, which does not see this connection, the Soviet side does, and the U.S. side is well aware of this.

He said that the establishment of an airlift to carry to emigrating Jews to Israel is out of question.

At the same time the spokesman said that the USSR does not preclude the development of relations with Israel also in air services. It believes, however, that the establishment of direct air services requires a certain level and character of relations between Israel and the USSR.

Kabul-Gardeyz Convoy Attack

LD2202163790 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev today denied Western reports that Afghan rebels had seized a truck convoy heading from Kabul to Gardeyz.

Speaking at a briefing here today, Perfilyev said that according to the Soviet Embassy in Afghanistan, only 15 trucks out of 700 had not reached Gardeyz. The convoy was protected by forces of the Afghan Defence Ministry, Ministry of State Security and the Afghan Ministry of the Interior. A large group of rebels was routed: 720 insurgents were killed and 900 were wounded. The Kabul-Gardeyz road is now in government control.

Asked about rebel intentions to shell Soviet villages bordering on Afghanistan, Perfilyev said that he did not have such information. At the same time, he noted that "the Afghan Government controls territories bordering on the Soviet Union" and that "Soviet border guards can take all necessary measures to prevent violations of the Soviet border."

Havel's U.S. Address, Upcoming Visit

LD2202180890 Prague CTK in English 1608 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 22 (CTK correspondent)—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said at a press conference here today that several ideas of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel contained in his Wednesday's address to the U.S. Congress are interesting for the Soviet Union, especially his stand on the development of the all-European process.

As regards President Havel's initiative concerning regional cooperation between Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, the Soviet Union paid great attention to it. The Soviet Union cannot however, assume a more specified stand as it does not have detailed information on this proposal at its disposal, the Soviet spokesman said.

He pointed out the significance of the forthcoming visit of Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union that starts on Monday [24 February]. "The visit of President Havel to the Soviet Union is very significant as it is his first visit to the Soviet Union in his new function", he stressed.

Shevardnadze on German Relations, Helsinki Meeting

LD2202131990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, believes that "today, unfortunately, the process of the rapprochement and unification of the two German states is outdistancing the formation of common European structures that could become a guarantee of stability." He stated this in an NOVOYE VREMYA interview, published in the weekly's ninth issue, describing the situation that has taken shape as a result of the evolution of the inter-German relations.

Discussing the possible forms of such structures, the minister pointed out that the Soviet Union proposed a summit conference as a permanently functioning body. Within the framework of such a conference the leaders of 35 states could assemble once or twice a year and discuss the most serious problems requiring a collective decision in the context of the development of the all-European process. As Eduard Shevardnadze notes, one could "also create an institute of ministers of foreign affairs" which would meet several times a year, taking into account the new situation in Europe and the world.

Answering a question on prospects for convening a "Helsinki II" all-European summit meeting and its agenda, the Soviet minister said: "First, we will sign a treaty on reducing conventional weapons. Second, we will determine subsequent stages of talks. Third, we will work out a final document."

In the words of Eduard Shevardnadze, "there are also other proposals," but, in his view, "the main thing is to clearly define the structures."

United States & Canada

Deeper Revision of U.S. Strategy Urged

PM2202150590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Semeyko: "Thinking in New Terms, or Will U.S. Military-Political Strategy Be Revised?"]

[Text] The situation in Europe and around the world is becoming fundamentally different. A host of new problems is arising for both East and West, including, of course, problems in the sphere of international and national security. These include the future structures of security, the assessment of the new role played by military strength in its correlation with politics and the altered extent of the military threat, and other doctrinal problems. The prospects for further easing military tension and the fate of peace will depend to a large extent on their solution.

Are attempts being made to reassess the military-political situation in the United States and NATO? In general, yes. And the results of the latest Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow are perhaps one of the convincing pieces of evidence for this. The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker confirmed that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue continues to deepen and reach new levels of understanding and collaboration. The progress made in relations between the two powers, including in the military-political sphere, is indisputable. It could not have been made, of course, without the rejection by both Washington and Moscow of a number of former stereotypes. At the same time progress would have been far more substantial if the U.S. reassessment had been a radical one, if bolder conclusions had been drawn from the world's realities and the precepts of military doctrine revised on their basis.

It is stated in Washington that nowadays the United States is worried—no longer so much by the threat of a surprise attack as by the scale of Soviet military power. "The spirit of glasnost and perestroyka is welcome, but we are dealing with a very powerful adversary," stated President Bush, urging that "a strong NATO defense be maintained."

Fine, no one denies the strength of the Soviet Armed Forces. But, first, it is undergoing substantial cuts. Second, it is generally in line with the demands made on it by the still far-from-stable situation that prevails. And third, there is a need for not just a purely military but, first and foremost, a political assessment of whether Soviet military might does threaten the United States and NATO.

There is no need to specially underline the fact that politically such a threat has never existed, let alone today, when the USSR leadership has proven that it relies exclusively on dialogue and the rejection of strong-arm methods. And these are not mere words; this is corroborated by specific actions, ranging from the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and unilateral measures of making major cuts in armed forces to the "nonintroduction" of troops into East Europe during the dramatic events that have just taken place there. The declaration of the principle of the peoples' freedom to choose their own ways of development has been confirmed in a practical and convincing way.

However, Washington is making very guarded and, moreover, internally contradictory military-political assessments of all this. This, for example, is Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney's credo: It cannot be asserted that the positive changes in the USSR and East Europe are irreversible; and, what is more, they have occurred primarily as a result of the pressure of U.S. and NATO military-political strategy. And therefore, he states, when forecasting the situation in the nineties "it is very important for us not to make make sudden and radical changes to that strategy." General John Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, urges caution: The threat from the Warsaw Pact "has markedly declined," but "anything could happen" in the future.

Recent speeches by President Bush also indicate a reliance on the "worst-case scenario." In an address to troops who carried out a military exercise in the Mojave Desert this month, the President gave on the one hand a positive assessment of the events moving in the direction of political pluralism and genuine democracy in the USSR, while on the other hand again focusing attention on the Soviet Union's "imposing forces" and the "military threat to democracy" in justifying increased expenditure on U.S. strategic forces and SDI.

But the realities are knocking at the door, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore them. Virtually throughout the postwar period the United States has stressed the need to be at constant readiness to repel a "sudden attack" which would be launched, it was thought, without the prior deployment of forces; but it has now proved impossible to hold to the old assessments. A report prepared for the secretary of defense by U.S. intelligence departments points out that "in the last few years the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies have been incapable of carrying out a rapid massed attack on the West." While previously at least two weeks' warning of a possible "Soviet attack" was expected, now U.S. intelligence has come to the conclusion that there would be one to three months' warning. This is the effect of the "increasing openness of Soviet society, the reduction of conventional weapons in the USSR, and enhanced U.S. information-gathering potential."

You would think that this not unimportant factor should have made the Pentagon's precepts of military doctrine face up more resolutely to the realities. But the U.S. military department still favors the old strategy based on extreme suspicion, mistrust, and wariness. It still advocates the fundamental concept of "nuclear deterrence," which is posited on the first use of nuclear weapons with all its consequences. The Pentagon favors the rapid

modernization of the U.S. strategic forces and the implementation of the SDI program.

As THE WASHINGTON POST reported the other day, the U.S Department of Defense has issued a new secret instruction to armed forces command personnel which predicts "intensifying worldwide competition between the superpowers in the nineties." The document, entitled "Guidance for Defense Planning," indicates that in the current decade the United States intends in its military policy to shift its basic attention to global confrontation with the USSR in Third World countries and to the arms race in high-technology spheres and is not ready to renounce the use of force abroad. The work on this document was headed by Pentagon chief Richard Cheney and his deputy, P. Wolfowitz. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, "the document reflects the opinion of President Bush and his advisors that it is still premature to plan all-embracing changes in the strategy of U.S. Armed Forces as a result of the changes in the Soviet Union and in the countries of its allies, although the administration has already been sharply criticized in Congress for its refusal to recognize their significance."

And this at a time when Cheney acknowledges that agreed cuts in conventional weapons "will substantially alter the military situation in Europe and the relations which have existed on the continent for around half-a-century." But, after all, if "they substantially alter the military situation," then the conclusion inevitably arises that it is necessary to substantially reassess the fundamental precepts of military strategy.

There is no call for immediate and completely unjustified disarmament involved here. Combat readiness and combat effectiveness have been and remain very important requirements of the armed forces of any state. After all, military confrontation is still a reality. No, something else is involved here: the need to revise those ideas that hinder the transition to reasonable defense sufficiency both in the strength of armed forces and in the views on their improvement and employment.

Demands to speed up perestroyka and the need for more resolute steps in the renewal of society and in all spheres of policy are being made ever more widely in our country. The same is also characteristic of the West in relation to U.S. and NATO military policy. It is an imperative of our time—to employ that somewhat overused phrase—that this historic opportunity not be lost. Further positive development of international relations could only be speeded up if Washington—and there, first and foremost—is able to revise more fully its military-political strategy in light of the interests not just of the United States but of the USSR too. Mutual and general security is ultimately impossible without this.

New U.S. Military Guidance Document Examined

PM1602104790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "United States: Secret 'Instruction'"]

[Text] The U.S. Defense Department has published a new secret "instruction" for command personnel in the armed forces which predicts "increasing superpower rivalry throughout the world in the nineties," THE WASHINGTON POST reported today. This document, entitled "Guidance for Defense Planning," attests that in the present decade the United States intends to shift chief attention in its military policy to global confrontation with the USSR in "Third World" countries and to the arms race in the sphere of high technology and that it is not prepared to abandon the use of force abroad. Work on the "instruction" was headed personally by Pentagon chief R. Cheney and by P. Wolfowitz, his deputy in the Office of Policy.

As THE WASHINGTON POST points out, although the "guidance" states that "the Soviet threat in Europe has diminished, at the same time it speaks of threats in the Third World and of the need to accelerate the technical revolution in the sphere of modern arms as a basis for further implementing major military programs." The document points out that "the United States must create 'multipurpose' and 'programmed' high-technology arms to establish military superiority over the Soviet Union." The instruction provides for preventing the transfer to the USSR of equipment, technology, and resources "which could have great military significance" and seeking ways to "switch Soviet military resources to fulfilling relatively ineffective tasks." In other words, it is a question of imposing an arms race on the USSR to divert its resources from economic needs. The old theses of the need to protect U.S. interests abroad, readiness to wage a global nuclear war against the Soviet Union, and the creation of preconditions for winning it have also found a place in the guidance.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, "the document reflects the opinion of President Bush and his advisers that it is still premature to plan comprehensive changes to the strategy of the U.S. Armed Forces as a result of the changes in the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it, although the administration has already been sharply criticized in Congress for refusing to acknowledge their significance." The newspaper emphasizes: "The document's characterization of the Soviet Union's aims in the Third World contradicts public statements by the Bush administration, which has made a positive assessment—with certain exceptions—of the Soviets' moderateness in the Near East, Africa, and Central America."

U.S. Intervention in Panama Denounced

LD2102215890 Moscow in Spanish to Spain 2100 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] [First announcer] Today it is two months since the U.S. invasion of Panama. We offer you some notes by our reporter, Viktor Cherevskiy, on this subject.

[Second announcer] It is clear that Washington had been planning the military action against Panama since General Manuel Antonio Noreiga decided to break with the U.S. Government. The fight against drug trafficking, the protection of U.S. interests, and so forth were no more than pretexts. The U.S. actions were carried out primarily to strengthen their positions, which had been undermined in the Canal Zone.

[First announcer] Let us recall how the invasion was carried out.

[Second announcer] The contingent of 12,000 soldiers from the U.S. Southern Command attacked the Panamanian Defense Forces' positions at 0500 on 20 December. This attack was supported from the air by warplanes and helicopters. Bombs and missiles also fell on the poorest districts of the country's capital. Some hours after the start of the operation, the victims among the population could already be counted in the tens. This gave rise to a vigorous international protest. Only the British prime minister agreed with President Bush's statements that the lives of U.S. citizens in Panama were allegedly in danger and also that it was necessary to restore democracy in the isthmus. In this way, for the umpteenth time the world has been a witness to the disregard for a Latin American country's freedoms and sovereignty.

[First announcer] It is public knowledge that during the course of events in Panama, U.S. soldiers killed the Spanish photojournalist Juan Antonio Rodriguez Juantxo.

[Second announcer] But in reality he was shot. Juantxo's death was not by accident. Witnesses say that the U.S. military organized a real hunt for journalists. Cynical Uncle Sam speaks of freedom, including freedom of speech. He speaks of democracy, of God, and then sends soldiers to kill old people, women and children, and journalists as well.

[First announcer] So it is a further demonstration of gunboat diplomacy.

[Second announcer] It is interesting here to give figures which bear witness to U.S. invasions of Central American and Caribbean countries since the middle of the last century. The North Americans have invaded Nicaragua 14 times, Panama 12 times, Honduras and Cuba seven times each, the Dominican Republic six times, and Haiti five times.

[First announcer] How did the Soviet Government react to the U.S. actions?

[Second announcer] The Soviet Union, our collaborator Viktor Cherevskiy writes, called these actions an act of brazen international outrage and a violation of UN principles and all the rules of international relations. The armed action against Panama, according to the Soviet Government's statement, is a challenge to the entire international community which aspires to building its relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and dignity of other peoples. This action is in flagrant contradiction with the positive tendencies seen today in international policy, contradicting the present course of dialogue. The U.S. invasion was carried out despite the reiterated calls by the international community to view the situation in Panama with moderation and despite calls by Latin American countries for Washington to respect the principle of noninterference in Panama's affairs. The Soviet Union has called on the U.S. Administration to put an end to interventionist actions against a sovereign country, our collaborator Viktor Cherevskiy writes.

Further on Supreme Soviet Group's U.S. Visit

Visit to State Department

PM2202160790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

["Dispatch from America" by special correspondent A. Golts: "Dialogue Will Continue"]

[Text] The leaders of the U.S. foreign policy department—the State Department—are used to answering legislators' questions. However, on this occasion the questions were put not by American congressmen but by members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. On 17 February a Soviet delegation visiting Washington paid a call on the State Department. Our parliamentarians' questions were answered by U.S. Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew. A broad range of problems concerning disarmament and the strengthening of international security was discussed.

The final meetings in the House Armed Services Committee were the major event of the day. Congressman Les Aspin, its chairman, stressed that the search for comprehension of the two countries' efforts in the sphere of security and understanding of the legislative process in the USSR and the United States was the basic task of the exchange of visits by American and Soviet legislators. In Aspin's opinion, such understanding had strengthened as a result of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to the United States.

And the fact that this really was so became clear as soon as Les Aspin asked the Soviet guests to express their views on possible areas where mutual contacts might be developed. O. Belyakov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, suggested that an exchange of delegations of military specialists on branches of the armed forces be prepared. The experience of the current visit shows that

specialists can find a common language more quickly. Given that both the USSR and the United States face the problem of conversion, O. Belyakov also suggested that trips by and meetings among defense industry leaders be organized. For his part, I. Fasskiy thought it essential that a methodology for comparing the two countries' military budgets be developed to avoid any future lack of understanding.

Army General V. Shabanov made another important suggestion. The visit to the NORAD command center, he observed, brought a very important idea to mind. The possibility of an accident occurring while carrying out a space program cannot entirely be ruled out today; that is why it is necessary to carefully consider the exchange of information between NORAD and Soviet missile-attack warning systems and space monitoring systems. Finally, S. Tsyplyayev suggested that the texts of laws adopted by each of the committees be exchanged.

In conclusion V. Lapygin, chairman of the committee, pointed out that the development of criteria of sufficiency in the defense sphere is a very important task for Soviet and American parliamentarians alike. The progress of the discussion of these suggestions left no doubt at all that this important dialogue will be continued at a new level.

A press conference was held the same day at which the Soviet parliamentarians described their impressions of the trip and answered journalists' questions.

Visit to Cape Canaveral, Disney World

PM2302103390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts report: "At Cape Canaveral. Our Special Correspondent Reports from the United States"]

[Text] "People here work to ensure that dreams come true." When you read this inscription over the entrance to the building where the space shuttle's preflight preparations are carried out, you realize that this is no boast. Everyone who works at the U.S. Cape Canaveral space center, which a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions visited, is distinguished by a sense of pride in their work. "I have the best job in the United States," (J. Konicatt) head of the shuttle program, replied without a shadow of a doubt when asked by Vladimir Lavrentyevich Lapygin, the well-known Soviet space equipment designer, how his U.S. colleague feels before a space shuttle flight.

Soviet parliamentarians inspected with great interest the building where the space ship's booster rocket is mounted and where the shuttle is prepared for flight. The large caterpillar transporter half the size of a soccer pitch aroused interest. No only does it deliver the rocket to the launch pad, but it also acts as a launchpad.

Finally, the Soviet delegation visited two areas from where the shuttle is launched into space. A rocket was already installed on one of them with the space shuttle, which is to be launched in the next few days.

What impression did these people who have an excellent understanding of space technology receive from the Cape Canaveral space center? I asked Anatoliy Alekseyevich Chizov, director of a plant that produces Soviet space technology and member of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, about this.

"The Americans are deservedly proud of this center," he said. "This space production unit does the country, its people, scientists, engineers, and workers credit. I would say more, we were given interesting documentation on the organization of the preflight preparations. At home we will compare this with what we do. At the same time, here at Cape Canaveral you clearly realize that we Soviet people, who are involved in the space program, also have something of which to be proud and we too have achievements, and considerable ones at that. That is why today, in my view, the problem of cooperation between our two countries in the conquest of space is extremely topical."

The previous day was also very full for the Soviet delegation. We visited Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, where the U.S. Tactical Air Command is stationed. Its leaders described how pilots are trained and backup services prepared to ensure that fighter and attack aircraft squadrons can be deployed in any area of the globe literally within days. Soviet parliamentarians inspected the combat aircraft in service with the tactical aviation and watched a demonstration flight by an F-15 "Eagle" fighter.

On the same day the delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions visited the U.S. Army chemical weapons center at Fort McClellan in Alabama. It was shown the system for training chemical defense specialists. I thought that the fact that training at the center is conducted using state-of-the-art chemical agents was interesting.

But let us return to Florida. After Cape Canaveral, the Soviet delegation went to the well-known Disney World, a vast city with all manner of attractions and amusements. We found ourselves among smiling cheerful kids trying not to miss a single attraction. May these children and the children of our entire planet not hear bombs thumping and shells exploding. That is probably ultimately why the delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions went to the United States.

On the same day the Soviet parliamentarians arrived in New York. The delegation will fly to Moscow tomorrow.

China

Beijing Military Talks Focus on Troop Reduction

LD2202224790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 90

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Soviet experts and diplomatic military servicemen have discussed in Beijing questions connected with the reduction of the armed forces in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border.

[V. Kulikov report over video of Chinese and Soviet military officials greeting one another in grand reception hall] This work which started in Moscow and which has been continued in Beijing is not simple. Over many years of military confrontation along the border, many problems have emerged. Experience has confirmed once more the very simple truth that it is much more difficult to build relations than to build military reinforcements.

[Kulikov addressing J.V. Kireyev, head of the delegation, chief of the USSR Interior Ministry Directorate—identified by caption] What is the purpose of the Beijing talks?

[Kireyev] The purpose is the same as the one described during the first round of talks in Moscow—the elaboration of leading principles for a reduction in the armed forces and for strengthening trust in the military sphere in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border so as to fill with practical content the agreements achieved in May last year here in Beijing during the summit meeting between the Soviet and Chinese leaders. The talks are proceeding in a businesslike, constructive, and, I would say, frank atmosphere. This is enabling the sides to understand more clearly each other's positions.

[Kulikov addressing M.Y. Krivitskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR Defense Ministry Directorate—identified by caption] Comrade general, what are your impressions of these meetings and contacts with your Chinese colleagues?

[Krivitskiy] For the first time in 30 years, the military have met not only at the negotiating table but also exchanged sample installations, so to speak, in the military sphere. Their comrades visited our tank divisions and saw our air force equipment. We have seen here the academy of armored tank troops. We have visited an infantry division. Much attention is being paid to electronics and computer technology in the course of training. In other words, the training of soldiers, NCO's, and officers is in keeping with modern standards.

Northeast Asia

Korean Air Given Rights To Fly Over USSR

SK2202074190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The Soviet authorities have given Korean Air, an ROK civil airliner, the rights to fly over Soviet airspace on business. The ROK Ministry of Transportation announced this in Seoul.

Out of the nine weekly flights bound for West Europe via Soviet territory, one passenger service plane will land at Moscow Airport for an intermediate stop. This service will begin from 25 March.

In addition, it has been agreed in principle on opening a direct flight service between Moscow and Seoul. However, the date of the signing ceremony has not been made public yet.

ROK, U.S. Discuss Troop Reduction in South

SK1802221990 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The United States and South Korea have reached an agreement on increasing the upkeep of U.S. troops stationed in the southern half of the Korean peninsula.

This was officially announced shortly after a talk between U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney and South Korean Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun. A U.S. plan to cut the number of U.S. troops stationed in the ROK by 5,000 in the near future was also discussed at the meeting. But the main issue under discussion was a cut in support personnel.

As is known, the U.S. Congress has called for a conspicuous cut in U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

ROK, Bulgaria Agree on Diplomatic Ties

SK2202073790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Bulgaria and the ROK are going to establish ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations.

According to an AFP report from Seoul, an agreement will reportedly be signed next month. At that time, ROK Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung will visit Sofia during his visits to East European countries.

According to the news agency report, the foreign minister will sign an agreement also with Czechoslovakia for such ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations.

Seoul has already established such diplomatic relations with Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union and the ROK have concluded an agreement on maintaining consular-level diplomatic relations at their permanent trade missions in the capitals of the two countries.

Officials' Japanese Cruise Protested

LD1102042390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 10 February carries a 2-minute report on a meeting held in Yuzhnosakhalisnk on 10 February to discuss December 1989 and January 1990 tourist cruises to Japan.

The report notes the expressed "indignation" at the fact that the oblast trades union council and the Sakhalinturist Association formed three tourist cruises, the participants in which were overwhelmingly leading officials of associations, enterprises, and organizations. The meeting participants noted the rest of those taking the cruises were primarily workers in trade and public catering and other people having nothing to do with Sakhalin. The group allowed to take the cruises were formed in secret, the report notes.

The report further details that the people participating in the cruises bought cars, video systems, and other goods in Japan. Those at the meeting demanded the immediate resignation, the removal from all posts, and the expulsion from the party of the leading officials who "held in contempt ethical norms and principles of social justice." The report notes the oblast leadership and procuracy received suggestions to confiscate the cars and video equipment purchased during the cruises.

Kalinin Comments on Cheney's Japan Visit

OW2102095290 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney will visit Japan from 20 to 24 February as part of his tour of Asian nations. In this connection, Moscow Radio military commentator Kalinin writes as follows:

Various issues involving military cooperation between Japan and the United States will be examined during Defense Secretary Cheney's stay to Japan and an important issue is likely to be the realignment of U.S. forces in Japan. What, then, is this realignment? With the world moving to easing East-West tensions, the concept of cutting military spending and of reducing military presence in Asia and other regions in the world is gaining more and more support in the United States. For example, three auxiliary air bases in South Korea and a naval communications base in the Philippines are planned to be closed. Generally speaking, this move is something of a welcome, but their actual closure depends on the outcome of talks between Defense Secretary Cheney and his counterparts in Seoul and Manila. Judging from remarks by Defense Secretary Cheney, there are virtually no plans to reduce U.S. forces in Japan. On the contrary, plans to move some U.S.troops deployed in South Korea to Japan are under study. It can be said that these plans will bring negative effects on Japan. There are more than 120 military bases and facilities in Japan, and 50,000 U.S. troops are deployed there. If U.S.troops in Japan were increased, their number [word indistict] and a large area of additional land for military use would be needed. Other aspects related with this problem must not be ignored. Japan has already been burdened with more upkeep costs for U.S. forces in Japan than other U.S. alliances, and its burden has been increasing year by year. For example, Japan, in the budget for fiscal 1990, increased its burden by as much as Y14 billion. However, the United States is asking Japan to cover all costs except for salaries of U.S. military personnel. In view of this, further increases in U.S. forces in Japan will compel Japan to spend a huge amount of money. As I have already mentioned, viewed from all aspects, Japan's spending to ensure U.S. military interests is not likely to be confined to this burden. According to KYODO reports, the question of widely using Japan's science and technology for the development of modern weapons will be examined during Defense Secretary Cheney's stay in Japan, and this means Japan's greater budget appropriation for the development of weapons. In other words, the United States is trying to have Japan bear a substantial portion of military spending to be used for the arms race. A total of 23 advanced technologies have been chosen to this end, and eight of them are to be used for resolving technological problems involving the SDI, that is, the Strategic Defense Initiative expected to put a brake on the disarmament process, which has just begun. Thus, the expansion and deepening of Japan-U.S. military cooperation not only conflict largely with Japan's interests, but have an adverse impact on the process of strengthening international security in the Asian and Pacific region.

Mongolian Democratic Union Holds First Congress

PM2102095590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Sapov dispatch: "Dialogue or Confrontation"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 19 Feb—The word "informals" does not exist in the Mongolian lexicon, just as the country has and has had no experience of the social democratic movement. However, the MDU [Mongolian Democratic Union], which recently announced its existence, has excited the public in the republic.

On 18 February its first congress approved the statutes and program of the new party, which has been named the

MDP [Mongolian Democratic Party]. Its documents suggest ways out of the socioeconomic and political crisis and ways to enhance the people's well-being.

The congress was preceded by a dialogue between the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and representatives of the MDU Coordinating Council. It was held in public [glasno], in a businesslike atmosphere, and was of a constructive nature—which was noted in a calm and considered open letter from the MPRP Central Committee Politburo to the party's members and to the entire Mongolian people.

What is the new party's platform? By and large, it differs little from the course proclaimed by the 19th MPRP Congress and the fifth Central Committee plenum. While supporting restructuring and insisting on its acceleration, the "democrats"—they are mainly representatives of the young creative intelligentsia—still intend to be an alternative to the MPRP in renewing the political system. The establishment of a multiparty system is taken as the basis and, consequently, the elimination of any monopoly on power, the maximum democratization of society, the introduction of parliamentary methods of management, the radical transformation of legislation, etc. Another organization—the Democratic Socialist Movement—is operating alongside the MDP. The Mongolian Patriotic Unity Front is also emerging onto the political scene.

Of course, not everything in their programs is incontrovertible. As is this has been stated frankly in roundups of letters published in the Mongolian press. For example, many disagree with the MDP's proclamation of the principle of "observing neutrality in international relations." This movement's Coordinating Council also displays striking inconsistency in pursuing its line. Having secured a dialogue with the ruling party, the MDU nevertheless undertook to confront it, demanding in an ultimatum-like manner the immediate resignation of the present Politburo, the People's Great Hural Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. Some people generally pose the question: Does a country with such a small population as Mongolia need a multiparty system? However, the fact remains that the country is beginning to live under conditions of political pluralism. And this must be taken into consideration.

Mongolia Dismantles Last Monument to Stalin

LD2102221190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1804 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 22 Feb [date as received] (TASS)—The last monument to I. Stalin in Mongolia was dismantled today. It was removed in accordance with a recent decision of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, adopted at the request of the Mongolian public.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Delegation Members Assess Australia Visit

PM2102150990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and V.L. Malkevich, chairman of USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, by own correspondent V. Mikheyev; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Advantageous Contracts Concluded"]

[Text] Sidney—The three-day visit to Australia by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ended on a cheerful note. To use Prime Minister R. Hawke's expression, the visit, which would have been inconceivable in the recent past, took place in a constructive spirit, in a warm and frank atmosphere. At the request of IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Igor Alekseyevich Rogachev, member of the Soviet delegation and USSR deputy foreign minister, commented on the origins and first results of the changes in mutual relations between the states of the Asia-Pacific region:

[Rogachev] Over the last few years the Soviet Union has demonstrated by concrete actions that it is prepared to really get down to improving its bilateral relations with the countries of the region, take part in settling regional conflicts, and help lessen military confrontation. Why have people now begun to treat us differently? Why do we sense more trust and benevolence toward us?

Take the following example: The Soviet Union has taken a number of unilateral steps to lessen military tension. We announced that our armed forces in Asia and the Far East would be cut by 200,000 and 120,000 respectively by 1991. We have eliminated 436 intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles under the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. We are about to remove 16 warships from the Pacific Fleet. Our military presence in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay has been reduced; this won a good reception from the neighboring states. We have not increased our nuclear potential in the Far East since 1984. We are withdrawing 75 percent of the Soviet troops in Mongolia and are now beginning to coordinate with our Mongolian friends the question of their withdrawal once and for all. Lastly, the second round of Sino-Soviet talks on reductions in armed forces and arms in areas adjoining the Soviet-Chinese border have recently begun. Important talks.

A word about a settlement of the situation around Cambodia. A lull set in after last August's conference in Paris failed to achieve major successes and the political settlement process slowed down, and then Vietnamese formations left Cambodia 27 September. Some four days later tripartite coalition armed formations began their intrusion across the border. That is why it was highly opportune when Australia's foreign minister G. Evans submitted his initiative to involve the United Nations in the settlement process. This made it possible to get

around one of the most acute questions on which there was no coincidence of views in Paris—the question of the structures of provisional power in Cambodia prior to national elections. Under G. Evans' plan, a UN Administration could undertake these functions.

During my stay in Australia I had three meetings with Senator G. Evans: Both sides voiced concrete proposals to facilitate the talks over Cambodia at various levels. We agreed to cooperate. We agreed as a short-term task to promote the regional meeting scheduled for 26 February within the framework of the Paris conference. It is a question of eliminating the threat of its being disrupted since the "Khmer Rouge" have stated their refusal to participate. It is also important that Australia has announced its support for the Soviet proposal first made by E. Shevardnadze in Wyoming to introduce a moratorium on arms shipments to the combatant sides in Cambodia. [Rogachev ends].

One of the most important results of the talks was the agreements signed in the course of N.I. Ryzhkov's visits on cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of trade (an agreement on fishing and supplies of raw materials and other commodities), the sphere of the peaceful use of nuclear power, and environmental protection.

Here is what V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, told your correspondent on this score.

[Malkevich] Our main aim is to eliminate the historical trade imbalance, although no one is to blame for that. It is a long-term aim. We are moving toward it gradually. By widening the range and increasing the level of exports of Soviet automobiles, tractors, and high-technology consumer goods—we include in this category ice boxes, air conditioners, and so on. The remarkable fact is that, despite the absence hitherto of a contractual-legal base (there is no agreement on mutual investment protection), there are already 16 joint enterprises operating in the USSR and six in Australia. What is more these 16 companies are not in Moscow but in various parts of the country and they are not geared to utilities and services but machines and equipment, which directly accord with our top-priority tasks. Lastly, despite their number—only 16—which is not very impressive, the volume of capital investments made by Australian business exceeds, for instance, total French investments.

What accounts for this? Trusting relations. Over the last 20 years that I have been attentively observing the Australian market, businessmen's desire for cooperation with us has appreciably outstripped the course of political events.

Cheney's Philippines Visit Ends, 'Bases Stay'

PM2202143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent D. Kosyrev dispatch: "Philippines-United States: Bases Stay"]

[Text] Manila, 20 Feb—The second—Philippine—stage of U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney's tour of Asian countries linked to the United States by military agreements in the region has ended. Prior to this he was in South Korea, and he has flown from Manila to Japan.

At a news conference in Camp Aguinaldo, the headquarters of the armed forces here, the U.S. guest spoke of the closure of 86 military bases in the United States itself and the reduction of the Navy, Army, and Air Force. But Washington is still not raising the question of a substantial troop reduction in Asia: It is, rather, a question of changes of a structural nature, since the administration does not perceive fundamental political changes in Asia, unlike in Europe.

Disappointment overtook those who had been expecting the secretary to say how specifically this "reappraisal" would affect the Filipinos themselves. As R. Cheney said, the decisions on this will be made in Washington precisely according to the results of his trip. Particularly as the two countries are to begin talks within the next few weeks on whether to conclude a new agreement on the bases located here, which are the largest outside the United States, to replace the one that is expiring. R. Cheney merely declared that he and F. Ramos, the Philippine minister of national defense, had "expounded to each other their positions," which, as is known, differ on the question of the size of monetary compensation for the Philippines.

R. Cheney also spoke of continuing support for the Aquino government. In this connection the U.S. press is clearly hinting that under the present conditions the U.S. bases in the Philippines are a guarantee that the constitutional regime in the islands will be preserved. And there is no denying that this will be a weighty argument in the upcoming talks.

U.S. Cut in Payments to Philippines Viewed

HK2302034390 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Commentary by Vassily Filipov]

[Text] The financial question was at the center of the recent discussion on the issue of security between Philippine Defense Secretary Fidel V. Ramos and American Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. Because of the American Government's financial problems, Washington has gone back on its promise to pay a set amount to Manila for its use of the military bases. However, a reduction of $96 million will not really help ease America's growing financial problems, which makes Washington's move suspect. The 1988 Memorandum of Agreement between the United States and the Philippines is very clear, but Washington has violated its terms. If one considers the way in which Washington has gained access to Philippine territory, one can see why it is behaving this way.

So, who will believe that out of the $300 billion of the Pentagon's annual budget, it cannot cough up a few million for the Philippines? Furthermore, this is not the only time when Washington has reneged on its promises. The American Congress has reduced the quota pledged to the Philippine Government for the Mini-Marshall Plan. The Americans have only given $200 million, compared to higher amounts granted by other countries like Japan. Worse of all is that American congressmen have further reduced the amount, which now totals only $40 million.

All this points to the fact that international commitments are being ignored, despite the agreement last April covering the Mini-Marshall Plan to aid the Philippines. The explanation given by the United States for this decision was the ineffective use by the Aquino Government of past financing. In reply, President Corazon Aquino pointed out that Washington should fulfill its obligations. She said her government is doing everything to ensure that financial assistance is properly channelled into the country's economic and social projects.

What is Washington's explanation on this matter? Many analysts say it is evident that Washington's moves are premeditated, that it is engaging in maneuvers geared towards the April negotiations on the future of the military bases. This issue is at the heart of discussions in Manila, and fears are that the negotiations will be complicated. This is why American Congressman Kolbe, during his visit to Manila in January, said that the future of the military bases was uncertain.

Meanwhile, some groups of congressmen have urged President Aquino to drop the negotiations; however she has refused to do this, saying that the primary issue is to see if Washington will fulfill its financial obligations towards Manila.

In view of all this, it is obvious that the United States will do everything in its power to pressure Manila, on the eve of the talks whose main topic is the financial issue. In this connection, it is evident that the Philippine economy faces a big problem—particularly since it is still recovering from the effects of the attempted coup d'etat last December.

According to the FAR EASTERN BUSINESS REVIEW, the occupation by rebel soldiers of Manila's business center of Makati, is a black mark against the economy, especially as far as attracting foreign investment is concerned. Because of the present situation in Manila, many investors are looking towards Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia where security is better. Added to this problem for the Philippines is the failure of agricultural reforms. Since this affects the supply of food, the Aquino administration has implemented price controls, particularly on rice.

All in all, it is clear that Washington wants Manila's position to be a weak one so that, during the coming talks on the military bases, it can press to retain its military bases. This scenario explains Washington's decision to renege on its financial obligation. During his visit to Manila, Cheney said he would ask the United States Congress to reconsider its decision on the payment reduction. This is but one more twist in the plot engineered by Washington. Another angle revealed by Cheney was that the United States has no intention of changing its military strategy in the Asia-Pacific region, that they badly need their military bases in the Philippines. If the Americans really want to keep these bases, then they should fulfill their financial obligations towards Manila.

Usmanov Interviewed on Indochina Visit

PM2302094390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Second Edition p4

[Interview with USSR Supreme Soviet delegation head G.I. Usmanov, secretary of CPSU Central Committee, by P. Tsvetov, PRAVDA correspondent in Laos, in Vientiane; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "'Akin to Restructuring'"]

[Text] The official friendly visit by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos has come to an end. The USSR people's deputies exchanged opinions on a broad range of issues with parliamentarians in the three Indochinese states, visited national economic installations, and met with Soviet specialists working in these countries. Before the delegation flew home from Vientiane, PRAVDA's own correspondent in Laos, P. Tsvetov, asked delegation head G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer a number of questions.

[Tsvetov] Important changes are taking place in all three Indochinese countries, which are akin to our restructuring but based on their own national features. What impressions have the people's deputies brought away with them from their acquaintance with the results of these reforms?

[Usmanov] It is certainly true that, on the initiative of their ruling parties, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have now embarked on a path of deep reforms in the economy and other spheres of social life. Interpreting past experience and creatively applying Lenin's ideas on the New Economic Policy in the specific conditions of their own countries, the Vietnamese, Lao, and Cambodian comrades have achieved remarkable successes in stabilizing the economic situation and improving the living conditions of broad strata of the population. Supplies of food and essential goods for working people have improved. It is important that, thanks to this, the edge has been taken off political problems in many respects.

In addition to transformations in the economy, measures are being taken to improve the political system, develop people's power, and enhance the role of the highest representative and local bodies. We in our country now have a broader, deeper understanding of socialism than we did in the recent past and we appreciate the need for

a diversity of forms and methods of socialist building based on the level of economic development and national specifics.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation is pleased with the progress achieved by the Indochinese countries and wishes them new successes in the renewal process.

[Tsvetov] What, in your view, are the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Indochinese countries, including along parliamentary lines?

[Usmanov] Fruitful cooperation in various spheres is developing between the Soviet Union and the Indochinese countries. With Soviet assistance, considerable production potential has been created in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—a potential they need to speed up their development in the future. At the same time, there are possibilities for these countries to be more than chiefly recipients of aid from us. Even now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia supply us with the kind of things we cannot obtain in other regions but which are extremely necessary to our economy. We must make our economic ties balanced. This trend is already beginning to gather momentum. It was supported by our interlocutors.

The task now is to accelerate the restructuring of the mechanism of economic ties and more actively introduce new, more effective forms and methods to the practice of these ties. Favorable possibilities exist for using the available solid potential of economic cooperation to take our collaboration to a qualitatively new level, enhance the benefits of this both for the Indochinese states and for the Soviet Union, and promote the inclusion of our countries in economic ties in Southeast Asia and the Asian and Pacific region.

The USSR and the Indochinese countries closely collaborate in the international arena and in efforts to establish peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region. Our delegation fully supported the Indochinese states' constructive course to defuse tension in Southeast Asia and achieve a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. Joint efforts by the USSR, the Indochinese countries, ASEAN, and other states in this direction would help to release the positive political potential contained in the ideas of creating a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation and a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

Broad opportunities are opening up for further developing ties along parliamentary lines for the purpose of exchanging experience of improving the work of representative bodies, promoting the restructuring of our cooperation in various spheres, and establishing in interstate relations the principles of equitable, mutually advantageous cooperation necessary for peoples' secure development.

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov's Remarks Significant to Israel Ties

TA1602174890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Commentary by Dimitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] International news agencies have reported that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told reporters in Australia that the Soviet Union will be ready to resume diplomatic relations with Israel when the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue is launched. The agencies regarded these remarks as a significant development in the Soviet stance on the issue of diplomatic ties with Israel.

It appears, therefore, that quite a number of new factors have emerged recently in the official Soviet approach, writes our commentator Dimitriy Prokofyev. Until very recently, Moscow made the resumption of ties contingent on the convening of a Middle East international conference, which saw the starting point of the Middle East process. Recently it became apparent, however, that while the concept of an international conference has remained a dream, the political process has reached a dead end.

In this context, an important development was noted in last week's Shevardnadze-Baker talks. In the news conference held after his talks with the U.S. secretary of state, Minister Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union unequivocally supports the U.S. proposals and the Egyptian mediation efforts aimed at promoting a direct Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

Undoubtedly, the international conference idea is still valid. To create a situation in which such a conference can be convened, however, an interim phase—that of direct negotiations—is apparently required in order to create an atmosphere of trust between the sides and to eliminate the problems which have so far prevented Israel from sitting at the international negotiating table.

Until recently, Jerusalem's well-known argument against participation in this forum has been the contention that the Soviet Union, along with the United States, would cochair such an international conference, although the Soviet Union does not maintain diplomatic relations with the Jewish state.

The situation seemed deadlocked. Due to several international circumstances, the Soviet Union was unable to resume its diplomatic relations with Israel before the political process was launched, while the political process could not be launched because the convening of an international conference was precluded by the absence of USSR-Israeli diplomatic relations.

I believe that the new Soviet approach reflected in Nikolay Ryzhkov's remarks in Australia and elsewhere opens new roads toward overcoming this problem. This means that the Middle East solution will be achieved in

stages. The first stage will include a direct Israeli-Palestinian dialogue for the solution of bilateral problems. The second stage will be the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel and the creation of conditions for pursuing the political process in an international framework. In my opinion, this phase—the third—is inevitable, because at a certain stage, parties directly involved in the conflict will require international assurances.

Shevardnadze Receives Libyan Petroleum Minister

LD2102173990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, today received Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary (minister) for petroleum of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, who has arrived in Moscow for talks on the development of Soviet-Libyan economic relations.

F. al-Shakshuki conveyed greetings and friendly wishes to Mikhail Gorbachev from Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution.

In their conversation Shevardnadze spoke of the present stage of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the complexities and prospects for this process and the steps being taken by our country to bring nearer a nuclear-free and non-violent world that is secure for everyone and developing harmoniously.

On the Libyan side support was expressed for the changes occurring in the USSR and a high appraisal was given of Soviet peace initiatives. F. al-Shakshuki gave information about development of the situation concerning Libya and the efforts of its leadership to arrange relations with its neighbors and to strengthen inter-Arab solidarity.

Eduard Shevardnadze welcomed Tripoli's initiatives on a peace settlement of the conflict with Chad, on the restoration of relations with Egypt, on the development of cooperation between the Maghreb states, and in support of the banning of chemical weapons. It was stressed that the new atmosphere taking shape in East-West relations meets the interests of all peoples and states, including the "Third World" countries, and promotes the creation of more favorable conditions for the settlement of regional conflicts and the shift away from confrontation toward dialogue.

The ministers noted that, unfortunately, there have as yet been no changes in the Middle East commensurate with the new tendencies in the international arena. It was stressed that the USSR and Libya resolutely oppose the occupation of Arab lands by Israel, and the latter's policy of settling immigrants on these territories and changing the demographic situation there.

Having discussed the state of Soviet-Libyan relations, the sides pointed out the existence of favorable preconditions for their further strengthening and improvement, and stressed the mutual desire to promote this in all possible ways. Particular note was made of the significance which they impart to the successful development of the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

The meeting passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Further Reportage on Release of Nelson Mandela

Vishinskiy Statement

MB1402144090 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Statement by Soviet Deputy Justice Minister Mikhail Vishinskiy; date and place not given—introduced and read by announcer]

[Text] There is a lot of discussion around the world of the release of the leader of the African National Congress [ANC], Nelson Mandela. The release has been hailed in the Soviet Union. Our speaker now is the famous Soviet lawyer, Deputy Minister of Justice Mikhail Vishinskiy.

First of all I would like to express ordinary human joy, said Mikhail Vishinskiy. Mandela is free. An event long awaited throughout the world has taken place at last. There is nothing more important for man than freedom. Small wonder forced deprivation of freedom is a severe legal punishment. Of course, I am speaking now of fair punishment, which was not so in the case of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment. He was charged with terrorist activity and a plot to bring down the existing system. Actually, Mandela was jailed for struggling for a democratic and free South Africa, and that is what all the residents of that country need, regardless of their color of skin.

The same authorities who imprisoned Mandela have admitted to the world by the very fact of his release that they were wrong, and that the cause of Mandela, the ANC, and the entire oppressed people of South Africa is just.

I've always admired the life and struggle of Nelson Mandela, says the Soviet deputy minister of justice, Mikhail Vishinskiy. As the son of a tribal chief, and as a person with higher education and more, Mandela looked forward to a life of plenty and a legal career. But he preferred to all these blessings the struggle for ending the bondage of his people. He sacrificed his own freedom for the sake of the freedom of his people.

When he was in jail, it was forbidden to mention his name and to print his photographs. But nearly every South African knew well who Nelson Mandela is. More

than that, his name became a legend, a sort of a password for those who have been fighting for a free and democratic South Africa.

For this reason the world at large hails his release together with the South African people. Nelson Mandela has been freed when big changes are taking place in South Africa. Now more than ever before, the aim is near that was in the mind of this courageous man: destruction of apartheid and creation of a new South Africa.

I think he will play a major role in the process because he is wise and commands tremendous prestige in his country. Therefore, I would like to whole-heartedly wish him success in the continuing struggle.

Foreign Ministry Officials Discussion

MB1402153590 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Statements by Gennadiy Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, and Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, in the USSR Foreign Ministry press hall; date not given; recorded Gerasimov and Vorontsov remarks in Russian fading into English translation within quotation marks and read by announcer]

[Text] Our listeners in Africa may probably get interested in the reaction of the Soviet Foreign Ministry to the changes under way in South Africa, the release of Nelson Mandela among them.

In a bid to meet the interest of our listeners, our correspondent Aleksey Batagov went to the press hall of the Foreign Ministry to hear the ministry's spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, and the first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, Yuliy Vorontsov. Speaking about the Soviet attitude toward Nelson Mandela's release, Gennadiy Gerasimov said:

"We regard it as a step that should have been taken long before. We hope that an end to the apartheid policies will eventually be put in South Africa."

And here is what the first deputy foreign minister, Yuliy Vorontsov, said:

"The release of Nelson Mandela: It would have been much better if there had been no need to release him. They just should not have kept him in jail for 27 years. But it is still a hopeful fact that reason has taken the upper hand with the South African authorities, at least 27 years after."

Is there hope for better relations between the USSR and the Republic of South Africa given the changes sweeping that country such as lifting the bans on the ANC [African National Congress], the South African Communist Party, and other progressive organizations, and the release of Nelson Mandela?

"This does not resolve the whole problems, said Yuliy Vorontsov. The most pressing problem for South Africa now is to abolish the shameful system of apartheid. The entire world will have a different attitude to South Africa—and the Soviet Union, too—when this is done, but not earlier."

East Europe

Further on Troop Withdrawal Agreement With CSSR

Havel Remarks Reported

PM1602114990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Questions and Answers"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR president has given a news conference in Prague Castle. V. Havel announced that the USSR ambassador had handed him a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev concerning specifically the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory.

The president said: "After I received Mr. Gorbachev's message tonight I realized that we still have to take into account certain aspects of the problem of which I was hitherto unaware." He said that it is impossible to overlook the technical aspects of the troops' withdrawal or the USSR's domestic political problems associated with it. At the same time, "in the interests of stability in our country and in Europe," as the president put it, it is necessary to see to it that they are withdrawn as soon as possible.

A date has been set for Havel's visit to the Soviet Union: It will begin 26 February.

Touching on the CSSR's domestic problems, Havel emphasized at the news conference that "no gigantic price rise, not even unemployment—as rumors systematically spread by panicmongers would have it—are expected in our country."

The following question was also asked:

"Is there a likelihood of a putsch, of a return to the past?"

"There is no possibility of a coup. Nobody is interested in it, nobody needs it," the president replied, adding with a touch of humor: "And there is nobody capable of doing it."

Representatives of the "Civic Forum" and "Public Against Violence" social movements called on the president and handed him a letter calling for a change in the nature of the government—in other words—to transform the government of national accord into a government of national renewal. The letter emphasizes that it is necessary to publish as early as possible an objective and frank report on the situation in the country and to brief the population on the specific steps being taken by the government against declining labor productivity and

other negative phenomena. A program of radical economic reforms must be proposed immediately. It is necessary to act more resolutely and to start the process of national renewal without delay, even before the free elections.

Talks Delegate Interviewed

PM1602143090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Colonel General A. Kleymenov, deputy chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff and member of Soviet delegation at Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on Soviet military units stationed in Czechoslovakia, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov; date and place not stated: "Before Their Return"—interview attributed to USSR Defense Ministry Press Center, first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, the second round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the withdrawal of Soviet military units of the Central Group of Forces temporarily stationed in Czechoslovakia took place in Moscow 7-9 February. The delegations agreed to continue work at the level of experts, stipulating the possibility of convening a plenary session at any time on the proposal of either side. Today PRAVDA's questions are answered by a member of the Soviet delegation at the talks, Colonel General A. Kleymenov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. He is head of a working party studying military-technical problems connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

[Nikanorov] Anatoliy Nikolayevich, could you tell us in more detail about the course of the talks and the questions that are being tackled there? Is it possible as yet to form an opinion on the specific date and schedule for the withdrawal of the troops?

[Kleymenov] At this round of the talks, which, incidentally, are taking place in a constructive, businesslike atmosphere, we continued the work begun last month in Prague. A very wide range of problems are under discussion, concerning, in particular, the status of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory, the schedule for their withdrawal, and the procedure for resolving property and legal questions. All this should be settled in a joint agreement, the draft of which is already on the negotiating table.

Let me remind you that the Soviet Government statement published the other day reaffirms the USSR's commitment to its declared position—to withdraw all foreign troops from other countries' territories in Europe by 1995-96, and to eliminate all military bases on foreign territory by the year 2000. There are grounds for expecting that the talks that have begun with Czechoslovakia and Hungary on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from those countries will end with an accord on all aspects. As far as the talks with Czechoslovakia are concerned, the main problem is the timing of the withdrawal. The timing is determined entirely by the available technical potential, which, to be frank, is very limited.

After all, what is the Central Group of Forces? It is not only 73,500 servicemen, hundreds of tanks, infantry combat vehicles, and other types of hardware and armaments, and hundreds of thousands of tonnes of materiel. It is also hospitals, schools, barracks, servicemen's homes, consumer and trade facilities, and much else. According to preliminary calculations, shipping the personnel, hardware, and various kinds of property to the USSR's territory will require more than 1,500 trains. The throughput capacity of the Chop border junction (and shipments can only take place by that route) makes it impossible to process more than two additional trains a day. This is because, as well as international passenger journeys and trains carrying ordinary national economic freight, during the same period the junction will also be handling troops being withdrawn from Hungarian territory.

In the course of the working party's sessions we have achieved a shared understanding of the method of planning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory. A very tight, but realistic schedule has been formulated for the redeployment of a substantial proportion of the combat subunits in accordance with an agreed list by the end of May this year. The first units could start moving at the end of February. By the end of this year it is planned to withdraw a significant proportion of the existing grouping from CSSR territory.

I would like to note that the command of the Central Group of Forces, taking into account the interests of the Czechoslovak population, have already considerably restricted movement by convoys of military hardware along the expressways and first-category highways with high traffic intensity. The movement of track-laying equipment by all types of route has been stopped outside firing ranges, exercises are held mainly on maps, and the scale of deliveries of equipment for the group of forces has been reduced.

It seems to me that the arguments submitted by us to our partners in the talks clearly demonstrate the absence of any desire on our part to artificially prolong our troops' presence on Czechoslovak soil.

[Nikanorov] Thus in the near future a large Soviet troop contingent will be withdrawn from central Europe. Will this not violate the existing approximate equality between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and adversely affect the security of the allied states?

[Kleymenov] If you compare the Warsaw Pact and NATO as a whole, the approximate equality will not change. In this case one can only speak of a change in some aspects of the correlation of forces between the two military-political alliances in Central Europe. How far will this affect the security of the states of East Europe? There is no simple answer to that. Security is determined

by many factors, including the development of the situation in the international arena. Some people today, referring to the radical changes in East-West relations, hasten to proclaim that the threat of war in Europe has receded forever into the past. What can one say about this? Of course, the situation in the world has improved in recent years. But the danger of war still persists, the far from defensive doctrines and concepts of the United States and NATO remain in force, and their armies and their far from small military budgets still exist.

In the international arena, positive trends prevail at present. We are making the greatest possible efforts to consolidate and develop them. But not everything is up to us here. In this context, as a military man, I cannot help thinking, for instance, about the mighty grouping that was set up for a short time in the Bavarian operational salient in the course of the recent NATO exercises "Reforger," "Centurion," and "Shield." These exercises are, however, being held and will, by all appearances, be held regularly. In any event, I have yet to hear anything about NATO's intention to abandon them in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Furthermore NATO is very sensitive about any attempts unilaterally to change the structure of the deployment of the bloc's troops in Europe. Remember, for instance, the recent sharp reaction of the North Atlantic bloc leadership to what was only an attempt by Belgian National Defense Minister Guy Coeme to raise the question of the possible return home of 25,000 Belgian servicemen stationed in the FRG. So you can draw your own conclusions.

[Nikanorov] And one last question, which you, as a candidate RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy, will clearly view with particular attention. The fulfillment of the accords reached at the talks will affect the interests of thousands of people—officers, warrant officers, and their families. What will their fate be when the Central Group of Forces ceases to exist?

[Kleymenov] The General Staff has planned the redeployment of formations, units, and institutions of the Central Group of Forces and decided on the areas of the new stations for every unit and every formation in the Soviet Union. General Staff operations groups have been sent to these localities. In the near future representatives of the Central Group of Forces command will join them. In the first instance they will tackle the resolution of all the practical questions. I will be frank, it will be very difficult indeed to resolve them. It is primarily a question of housing for officers and warrant officers. You know how acute this problem is in our country. Without additional appropriations, we will not be able to provide people with apartments in a relatively short space of time. We are very much counting on the help of party and soviet organs at the sites of the new stations of formations and units of the Central Group of Forces in resolving all the difficult problems of daily life.

There are now more than 10,000 schoolchildren in the families of servicemen of the Central Group of Forces. There is doubtless no need to explain how important it is for graduates to finish their studies in their "own" school and how difficult it can seem, however accustomed officers' children may be to moving about, to have to move to another school a matter of weeks before graduation. In view of this, the group command has adopted a decision to create a borading school for senior graders whose fathers will soon be leaving for a new place of service. For these children's mothers, a residential home belonging to the USSR Defense Ministry, not far from the school, has been made available.

We will try to do everything in our power to ensure the speediest resolution of other domestic problems arising in connection with the forthcoming troop withdrawal.

Agreement Prepared, Initialed

LD2202184190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague, 22 Feb (TASS)—The second round of talks between the Soviet and Czechoslovak expert commissions on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Czechoslovakia ended here on Thursday.

The final text of an intergovernmental agreement on the troop withdrawal has been prepared and initialed. The agreement was initialed by Ivan Aboimov and Evzen Vacek, deputy foreign ministers of the USSR and the CSSR.

The signing of the agreement will take place in the next few days in Moscow.

Aboimov Queried on Negotiations

LD2202195790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia ended in Prague today.

[Correspondent Sergey Andreyev] So, February 1989 [year as heard] is going down in the history of relations between our countries, just as August 1968 has, when Warsaw Pact countries' troops entered Czechoslovakia's territory, but, of course, these two months are tinged differently for people in Czechoslovakia. Then there was bewilderment, rage, and dismay, but now there is satisfaction. However, it would be imprecise to use just that one word to describe the Czechsolovak people's attitude to the issue of the withdrawal of our troops and to our soldiers. The spectrum of feelings and actions is very broad, from extremist demands to get out immediately to friendly attention, assistance and understanding of our problems, which are, indeed, not simple. If we take just the technical aspect, can we withdraw 73,500 people

and around 1,500 special trains carrying combat equipment and the military possessions accumulated over these years?

[USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.P. Aboimov] The central and probably most complex issue at the negotiations was the question of the definitive timescale for the Soviet troops' withdrawal. Here I feel that we have managed to find solutions which can satisfy both sides. It is planned that the Soviet troops' withdrawal will be implemented in stages. Our accords include three stages. That gives us the opportunity to carry out appropriate preparatory work back home. In general, the withdrawal process—and I emphasize that it will be a process, not some kind of instantaneous operation—evidently, will take about a year and a half.

Czechoslovaks Protest Soviet Troop Presence

PM2302095390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel P. Chernenko report under rubric "In Countries of Eastern Europe": "They Are Trying To Drive a Wedge"]

[Text] The district city of Mlada Boleslav near Prague greeted us with store windows in a myriad of colors and lines of automobiles stationary on the side of Masaryk Boulevard (formerly People's Militia Boulevard). I have been here several times and each time I noticed the hospitality of the city's inhabitants and a special kind of silence on the streets.

Something has changed. One passerby stared at me, another smiled, and a third looked clearly malevolent. I read the words on the home-made posters and realized that this "something" concerned us, me. The following was handwritten, with mistakes in some places: "Soviets, it's already time," "It is 2,000 km to Moscow," and so on.

Guards Major N. Lutsko described the situation:

"Two weeks ago there were far more of these posters before a municipal rally calling for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. Their numbers have now diminished but there are enough of them. The rally in the city demanded an end to Soviet troops' combat training and restrictions on highway traffic, and insults were directed at Soviet servicemen and members of their families."

"Our rally," Petr Pospisil, representative of the Civic Forum district coordinating committee, said, "was designed to support the CSSR Government on the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops by the end of this year. We do not plan to hold any more of these rallies. Our actions were not directed against the Soviet Union; we will continue to strengthen the friendship between our peoples. People in Czechoslovakia well remember how many Soviet soldiers gave their lives to liberate it from fascism."

It was obvious that P. Pospisil was speaking from the heart. People like him may be in the majority in the country. Nevertheless there have recently been instances in the CSSR of insults to Soviet soldiers' tombs and monuments to V.I. Lenin and threats of physical reprisals against our servicemen and members of their families. Some stores in Mlada Boleslav are refusing to serve Soviet citizens. Some people would very much like to drive a wedge between the two people and sever the ties of friendship.

TV Dismissals Seen as Purge of Communists

PM1602120390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Communists Dismissed"]

[Text] Prague, 14 Feb—It has become known that a document entitled "Special Regime in Czechoslovak Television" will be approved at this evening's session of the CSSR Government. This was confirmed by Jindrich Fayrayzl [surname as transliterated], general director of television, addressing a meeting of television workers in Prague today. He announced that 2,000 employees will be dismissed in the course of two months: almost 1,200 in Prague and 800 in Bratislava. Czechoslovak Premier M. Calfa had informed the general director of television of this decision last Friday. Lists of those coming under the "special regime" are to be drawn up before the end of February.

The government's lack of funds to finance television is the official explanation for such extraordinary measures. However, many people here believe that this is just an occasion for purging television of communists. This is also attested to by the calls that were made at today's meeting to do away with "old structures."

This tough formula evidently applied to M. Pavel, former leader of television, and to K. Stary, former general director of Czechoslovak Radio, who were forced to resign. Today Ales Benda, general director of CTK [Czechoslovak News Agency], asked the CSSR premier to be released from his post. They are all members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

TASS Cites Havel Address to U.S. Congress

LD2202085790 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 22 Feb 90

[by TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy]

[Text] Washington February 22 TASS—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia, on an official visit to the United States, spoke before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives on Wednesday.

"We live in a very unusual time," Havel said, the world's human face is changing so rapidly that the speed of change can hardly be measured.

The historically irreversible process underway in Europe will help it find its face, Havel said. Hopefully, the United States soon will not have to protect Europe's freedom, since Europe will be able to ensure its own security.

"Revolutionary changes will enable us to escape the outdated straight jacket of a bipolar world and enter a multi-polar world, enter an era when we will be able to create what your great President Lincoln called 'a family of peoples', Havel said.

"I am often asked how the United States can help us today. My answer is as paradoxical as my life. You will help us most by helping the Soviet Union on its irreversible, but very complex, road to democracy. The sooner, the faster and the more peacefully the Soviet Union begins moving towards genuine political pluralism, respecting people's right to integrity and to a working economy, that is a market economy,—the better it will be not only for Czechs and Slovaks, but for the entire world."

"And you will be able to ease the burden of the military budget born by the American people more quickly. Speaking metaphorically, the millions you will give to the East will soon return to you in billions of savings. It is not true that the Czechoslovak right or that Vaclav Havel want to disband the Warsaw Treaty tomorrow, and NATO—the day after tomorrow, as some journalists have written."

"Vaclav Havel simply believes, as he has already said here, that American soldiers should not be separated from their mothers for another hundred years simply because Europe is not the guarantor of international peace it should be in order to compensate for having presented the world with two world wars," Havel said.

West Europe

Moiseyev Returns From Visit to Finland

PM2102124190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, who was paying an official visit to Finland at the invitation of General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Defense Forces, returned to Moscow from Helsinki 15 February.

Ryzhkov, France's Stoleru Discuss Economy

LD2102225390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1526 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Feb (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today received Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state to the prime minister of France in charge of planning, who is in Moscow for consultations about economic management. As Ryzhkov noted, the French experience of the combination of the elements of the plan and the elements of the plan and the market in managing a mixed economy may be of considerable interest for the Soviet Union at the present stage of radical economic reform. Although it is not possible to mechanically transfer this experience to Soviet soil, the methodology of the approach to many acute problems of socioeconomic development may turn out to be highly useful in amplifying one clause or another of the economic reform.

Putting forward his interpretation of the general principles of cooperation in economic management, Lionel Stoleru noted that France watches with great interest the major changes undertaken recently in the Soviet Union in the process of perestroyka, including those in the country's political system. He thinks that the successful implementation of economic reform in the USSR would be of enormous significance not only for the Soviet Union itself, but for the whole world community. In conditions where the economic systems of the Soviet Union and other European countries were compatible, real economic prerequisites would be created for erecting a common European home.

Characterizing the difficulties of perestroyka in the economic sphere, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers emphasized that the reform will make it possible to overcome these difficulties and that at present the problem of choosing the correct tactics for action has come to the fore—one cannot be late, nor be hasty in implementing the necessary measures to improve the economy. In these conditions, it is more important than ever for society to have a good understanding of the state's economic policy and to support it.

As a result of the exchange of opinions, both sides came out in favor of creating a permanently operational mechanism of cooperation on questions of economic management, which would function not only bilaterally, but also multilaterally, with the participation of other European countries.

Latin America & Caribbean

Deputy Minister Views Cooperation With Cuba

PY1502210690 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Interview with Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, by unidentified reporters on the 30th anniversary of the signing of the first Cuban-Soviet trade accord; date and place not given]

[Text] [Reporter] How did Soviet-Cuban cooperation begin?

[Kachanov] At that time, 30 years ago, just a short time after the Cuban revolution, the introduction of radical changes into Cuba's single-product economy was very

difficult, considering the shortage of natural, technical, and human resources. In addition, the United States imposed an economic boycott on Cuba. The island was also very far from the USSR.

At the end of 1959, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry arrived in Havana. The first Cuban-Soviet accord was signed in February 1960, providing for the purchase of 1 million tons of Cuban sugar. Later, another accord was signed for the provision of Soviet oil to Cuba—instead of U.S. oil, which the Island of Freedom was no longer receiving. Other contracts were signed later.

One can say that the first Soviet-Cuban accords allowed the Cuban people to resist the hard U.S. boycott and to guarantee the defense of the achievements of the revolution.

[Reporter] How did Cuban-Soviet economic and commercial cooperation develop in the following years?

[Kachanov] Over the past 30 years, Soviet-Cuban exchange has grown by more than 5,000 percent. Starting with 160 million rubles in 1960, it reached almost 9 billion rubles in 1990. The USSR accounts for 75 percent of Cuban foreign trade. The purchase of Soviet oil and oil byproducts, chemicals, fertilizers, grains and other food products, lumber, ferrous and nonferrous metals, cars, and machinery has been decisive for the Cuban economy. In turn, the purchase of Cuban crude sugar, which meets 33 percent of Soviet domestic needs, of nickel and cobalt products, and of [words indistinct] has been very important for the Soviet economy.

Over the past 30 years, Cuba and the USSR have successfully cooperated in meeting the economic targets of the island of freedom. The list of such targets is very long. It includes machinery, power generation, electronics, oil extraction, agroindustrial plants, and the mining industry.

Soviet-Cuban cooperation has caused the Cuban steel and rolled steel production to grow by more 500 percent, while Cuban oil production has grown by 2,000 percent. There are growing possibilities in the field of technical-scientific cooperation, which today includes more than 100 issues and problems in various fields.

[Reporter] Despite the undeniable success of Cuban-Soviet cooperation, [words indistinct] the failures and mistakes, as happened with the provision of grain to Cuba early this year.

[Kachanov] First of all, we should say that Soviet organizations have attached top priority to the provision of grain and other food products to Cuba. All Soviet grain shipments promised for 1989 were supplied as scheduled. No early grain shipments were sent at the beginning of 1990, mainly because of organizational problems, such as the fact that we buy grain for Cuba from other countries, and also because of some transportation problems. All the problems, however, have now been solved. We have established a strict system of control so that Soviet food shipments to Cuba may be delivered as scheduled in the contracts.

We should admit that compliance with bilateral contractual terms has relaxed recently. We are also concerned about the fact that both sides have failed to ship some merchandise as scheduled. The USSR and Cuba still have to tackle these problems.

[Reporter] Some Soviet media have said that Soviet-Cuban cooperation is disadvantageous. What do you think of that?

[Kachanov] Even though the list of items that Cuba is supplying to the USSR is small and does not grow as rapidly as we would like, the issue has to do with currency operations. If we did not buy those Cuban products, we would have to buy them on the world market, paying for them with currency. Cuba is in a similar situation with respect to the USSR. Is it necessary to provide further evidence of the mutually beneficial nature of Soviet-Cuban cooperation?

[Reporter] [words indistinct] prospects for Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation.

[Kachanov] Our cooperation currently seeks to develop new economic ties on the basis of countertrade, the creation of mixed enterprises with direct ties between similar Soviet and Cuban enterprises, and so forth.

The new forms of cooperation also include the scientific and technical fields. In 1989, an accord was signed for the creation in Cuba of the first mixed, powder metal processing laboratory. The talks for the creation of a laboratory that will process metals with the help of explosives will soon be over.

In 30 years of Soviet-Cuban economic commercial cooperation, we have followed a glorious path. Despite the difficulties that we have found and that our two countries are now confronting, we regard the future of our relations with optimism.

Supreme Soviet

Further Reportage on Supreme Soviet Session

Agenda for 23 Feb

LD2302090990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue today. Deputies will work in committees and commissions. Examination of draft laws on the agenda of the third session is planned. Among them, for example, is a package of laws on taxation. The plan and budget commission today plans to examine the remarks and proposals made in connection with these laws. Another most important draft law deals with the general principles of local self- government and local economy. It was published for nationwide discussion and it is now necessary to take account of all the views that have been put forward. The committee for the work of the soviets of people's deputies and the development of government and self-government will continue to deal with this.

The prospects for developing public education during the 13th five-year plan will be the center of attention of the committee for science, public education, culture, and upbringing.

The problems of producing protein and vitamin concentrates worry many people now. The committee for agrarian issues and food intends to define its position on these questions during its session today.

Uniform Tax System

LD2202171790 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent Andrey Orlov:

The Soviet parliament will soon consider a package of bills establishing a uniform tax system in the country.

The main provisions of the new laws were presented at a news conference by the Planning, Budget and Finance Commission of the Council of the Union, one of the parliament's two houses, here today.

The bills, intended to deepen economic reform, fully correspond to the laws on property, land and enterprise, said commission chairman Viktor Kucherenko.

"The new laws are designed to stimulate production growth, accelerate scientific and technological progress, and increase the output of consumer goods while keeping inflation down," he said.

A transition to the new tax system does not envisage any growth in the state revenue.

The measures to be submitted for consideration to the Supreme Soviet provide for raising the level of the untaxable income of individuals and decreasing the tax levied for low-paid workers (which will cover 35 million people), gradually lifting the tax on people with no children and introducing income declarations for some categories of working people.

Tax evasion will be punishable with high fines, a repeated offence will lead to a jail term. A tax inspection office will be set up shortly to police the system.

The bill on profits and incomes tax establishes for the first time an equal criterion for all subjects of production and all forms of property ownership. The maximum tax on profits of enterprises will not exceed 55 percent, benefits are envisaged to reduce the rate to 43 percent.

Kucherenko expressed hope that the parliament will soon adopt the new laws, stressing at the same time that they are intended for the transition period and provide for changes and amendments.

Committees, Commissions Hold Meetings

People's Rights Committee

LD2202174790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] There was a meeting today of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Glasnost, Rights and Appeals of Citizens. Discussion concerned the problem of human rights, both in the USSR and in other countries.

Among the priority measures which have to be carried out in our country, Reshetov, chief of the Directorate for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, singled out in particular the introduction of admendments to the appropriate section of the Constitution and likewise the adoption of a law on freedom of conscience.

The view of the deputies was unanimous. It is necessary to know how things stand in the sphere of human rights in the world. Once again, whether we like it or not, we conclude that we need another kind of universal education, yet another one, after economic, legal, and computing.

But until there is information, one cannot correct the situation, it is impossible even to attempt to build a legal state. In order to fight for their rights, people have to know what they are.

Culture Commission

LD2202153190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 22 February carries a three and one half-minute Olga Vasilenko report from the Commission on Issues of Development of Culture, Language, National and Internationalist Traditions, and Preservation of Historical Inheritance of the Soviet of Nationalities. She says that here the foundations were laid today

of "the future long-term program for the development of culture." She reports that the commission noted that the development of historical self-awareness should be "the cornerstone of the cultural programme." She notes that the need for beginning to develop fundamental legislation of the USSR and the union republics on culture was also discussed, and that according to the deputies in the commission, the draft laws on ownership and taxation do not take account of the interests of culture.

According to Vasilenko, Culture Minister N.N. Gubenko said that on his request, his ministry is receiving legislative acts on culture from other countries, and is beginning to study them. She notes that the discussion connected with the long-term program for the development of culture was "very difficult." "The commission also touched on why our well-known performers, and even collectives, are leaving the country, and how to stop this," she says. Vasilenko ends the report by noting that other questions discussed were why monuments are continuing to be destroyed, why the interest in real cultural values is continuing to fall, and why "anticulture is flourishing so brightly, and how closely all these phenomena are connected with those negative processes which are taking place in our country."

More on Committee Work

LD2202151490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 22 February carries a two-minute report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees meeting today. He notes that the Committee for Women's Affairs, the Family, Mothers and Children today examined the fulfillment of the central authorities' decision adopted in 1986 on improving living conditions of people handicapped since childhood, and called for new proposals to be put to the Council of Ministers. Ruvinskiy notes that the Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices and Social Policy examined two documents on taxation and enterprise profits, and that many delegates expressed the view that to adopt this draft would be destructive to perestroyka and to the presentation of new proposals. He says that a press conference of the Planning, Budget and Finance Commission is also meeting to discuss this draft.

Ruvinskiy says that the Commission for the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of Heritage has examined a long-term program of cultural development, while the Committee for Ecology has examined the fulfillment of a recent document on the economic recovery of the country. The committee noted that not all the points of this decision have been fulfilled, and that it will have to make a decision on this later.

Ruvinskiy ends his report by saying: "There is one other commission—I cannot help but mention it—and that is the commission set up by the first Congress of People's Deputies to explain the circumstances connected with the activity of the investigation group headed by Gdlyan. It is holding a regular session today. Rekunkov, former USSR procurator general, and some of his deputies are answering questions put by members of the commission. It has to be said that the volume of work of this commission is very great, and its investigations frequently have to go beyond the bounds of the work of the Gdlyan investigation group. I attended this session today, and I got the impression that there are too many shady areas in our history, even very recent history."

Nikitin, Gusev 'Set Out To Misinform People'

PM2002135190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by USSR People's Deputy V. Shapovalenko: "Who Is Stronger Than Parliament?"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session opens today. As we well know, the protein-vitamin concentrates problem is not included on the agenda. But we are forced to return to this subject, because the ecological conflict is assuming a new quality: It is developing into a conflict between legislative and executive power.

I set off for the USSR Supreme Soviet session with an uneasy feeling. Would it allow an important parliamentary decision to be revised? If this precedent were set, everything could be torpedoed as a consequence, including the laws on land, ownership, the press, and others without which restructuring would be gasping for breath.

I certainly am not painting the picture darker than it really is. For this is precisely the situation that has now taken shape around the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Urgent Measures for the Ecological Recovery of the Country," adopted on 27 November last year. Parliament and, in particular, the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, are coming under some tough departmental pressure. Emotions are running high over Point 6 of the resolution, which envisages ending the production of protein-vitamin concentrates in 1991.

A pile of angry appeals from biochemical directors affected by a resolution passed by Politburo member Ye.K. Ligachev was sent to the Supreme Soviet recently. It is important that Yegor Kuzmich felt it necessary to note in this resolution that "republics and oblasts are engaging in the production of vegetable protein with greater vigor than ever, as is done in developed countries."

Another official document, however, also sent to the Supreme Soviet, is written in a quite different tone. I will quote several lines from it: "Unfortunately, this decision (namely, the decision on protein-vitamin concentrates—V.Sh.) was taken without considering the opinion of the government. Moreover, for incomprehensible reasons, the findings of the commission set up on instructions

from Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, have been ignored...."

Incredible? V. Nikitin and V. Gusev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, who signed this letter, clearly set out to misinform people, while attempting to put pressure on the legislative body.

How on earth can they claim that "this decision was taken without considering the opinion of the government," if, at the very first Supreme Soviet session, N.I. Ryzhkov publicly expressed his attitude to the entire protein-vitamin concentrates sector?

Even a public commission of experts has brought to light a mass of contradictory data regarding the harmlessness of protein-vitamin concentrates. Some scientists consider this preparation to be a virtual panacea in the solution of the feed problem, while others are sounding all the warning bells! Suffice it to say that so far no one has ventured to research the carcinogenic and mutagenic properties of protein-vitamin concentrates at a modern—molecular and cellular—level. Surely we must be put on our guard by the fact that in 1985 the EEC banned the use of bioprotein made from paraffins of petroleum?

However, no one ventured to argue with N.I. Ryzhkov about the protein-vitamin concentrates. Even V. Bykov, head of the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, preferred to dissociate himself from the scandal-ridden biochemical plants when his nomination for the post of minister of the medical industry was being discussed. The ministerial portfolio slipped from his grasp....

A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since then. Now, Deputy Minister M. Sobolev is lambasting the Supreme Soviet in the press for incompetence and has even threatened everyone with his own resignation if anyone should dare to lay a finger on even one protein-vitamin concentrates plant!

I do not think that the deputy minister is risking his career. One can sense influential forces behind him. As soon as Minister V. Bykov was established in office, an authoritative commission of scientists was set up to urgently rehabilitate the protein-vitamin concentrates. Moreover, high-ranking officials everywhere stressed that this commission was formed on personal instructions from M.S. Gorbachev.

"I have not appointed any commission on protein-vitamin concentrates!" Mikhail Sergeyevich twice answered my direct question. I approached him twice on the matter during the session.

"What commission?" N.I. Ryzhkov asked indignantly, on learning that someone was trying to revise his decision. "I will not allow this," Nikolay Ivanovich assured us, and it seemed to me that he was genuinely surprised by this turn of events. However, a fact is a fact: The commission continued working as if nothing had happened and soon reached an unequivocal conclusion: It would not be advisable to attempt the reconfiguration of protein-vitamin concentrates plants!

What an amazing country we live in! It seemed to me that parliament had made a decision. That should have been it: The end of the matter. But some "evil spirit"—at the level of numerous assistants—is weaving intrigues behind the backs of leading figures and turning everything upside down!

Eventually, we succeeded in tearing the veil of secrecy from this authoritative commission. It transpires that it was set up on instructions from Comrade Nikonov, a former Politburo member, and its members were selected by V. Gusev, who is responsible for the chemical-timber complex, including the protein-vitamin concentrates sector. It is not hard to guess what kind of guidelines were given to the experts and what common objective united them.

The work of several independent scientists, left in a hopeless minority in this commission, was simply blocked: Information they requested, including from abroad, was denied them, while their own opinions were ignored and not given any real prominence. The situation reached the point where R. Kukayn, academician of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences, was forced to wire to the Kremlin: "I categorically object to my name being used in an unequivocally positive assessment of the production of protein-vitamin concentrates based on paraffins of petroleum...."

But this telegram clearly came too late. The academician's signature had already been exploited to the maximum. The government commission on protein-vitamin concentrates did not feel it necessary to promptly send its report to the Supreme Soviet. This report became held up in the depths of the USSR Council of Ministers apparatus, but, to all appearances, it did little to convince the government. In any case, the draft resolution on ecology was agreed in full in the USSR Council of Ministers. The clause on protein-vitamin concentrates prompted no objections.

Officials often now try to accuse our parliament of incompetence and hastiness. However, I know for sure just how meticulously it studied the draft resolution on ecology: This document was sent for preliminary discussion to all the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. Nowhere, at no discussion, did the ill-starred clause on protein-vitamin concentrates arouse even a remark. Suddenly—an avalanche of protests against the decision taken!

"Protein-vitamin concentrates mean meat! Do you want to be left without any sausage at all?" people ask indignantly.

"Protein-vitamin concentrates mean hard currency! It means 110,000 tonnes for export!" This is another trump card used. But, excuse me, if we ourselves have nothing, why on earth are we trading such an "invaluable" feed protein to outsiders? Is it not to cover the hard

currency outlays needed to purchase imported paraffins of petroleum, from which we then obtain our beloved protein-vitamin concentrates? Who needs this rotation of hard currency?

The answer, I feel, is perfectly obvious. The departmental monopoly—on power, on nature, and on vast resources—is coming to an end. But there is a great reluctance to part with the easy, problem-free life.

There is something to fight for! So I certainly am not surprised by such tough pressure from the "old guard." What does surprise me is something else: At present I could not call the attempt to block the legislative body as unsuccessful. The episode concerning protein-vitamin concentrates unfortunately reveals general trends. Giving the soviets real power is proving extremely difficult, and I would like my voters to be aware of the real situation and correlation of forces.

Political & Social

CPSU Appeals to 'Country's Working People'

PM2202153790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 90 First Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee appeal to Soviet working people, entitled: "To Country's Working People"]

[Text] For the first time in many decades, our society, thanks to perestroyka, received the opportunity to embark upon the road of radical reforms in politics and in the economy, in social and intellectual life—a path of moral purification.

Democratic processes are steadily advancing. Public activity and a thirst for profound positive changes have stirred in people. During the discussion that has unfolded in the country, there has been a principled discussion concerning fundamental renewal of our public edifice and the resolution of daily concerns and needs.

Much does not satisfy us in life today and much instills unrest. The sources of working people's outrage—when they come up against with cases of thriftlessness and incompetence, irresponsiblity, and malpractice—are well understood. Soviet people react with pain and alarm to the acute interethnic conflicts, extremism, and flagrant violations of socialist legality and law and order.

It is perfectly clear to us that only the efforts of the whole people, immediate and resolute efforts, are capable of getting the country out of its current difficult state. Now, as never before, we need accord and unity of action, the resolve to defend restructuring and to confidently advance on the paths of socialist renewal.

We cannot allow those who, while declaiming the slogans of perestroyka are, in essence, launching an attack on perestroyka, pursuing their mercenary interests and ambitions, and who are pushing the people toward civil confrontation, acting according to the principle the worse things get, the better, to throw aside all restraints and to come out on top in our society. In so doing, everything is utilized, capitalizing on the existing difficulties and failures: direct incitement to violence, economic irresponsiblity and civil insubordination, pressure on state and public institutions, the fanning of base passions and instincts, lies and slander about party, soviet, economic, law enforcement bodies, and about our army.

All that has been shamelessly set in motion. It is namely under the influence of such extremist forces that quite a few rallies have swept the country which began under slogans of renewal and ended in anti-Soviet calls and disturbances, hooligan outbursts and pogroms, people's grief and suffering. We cannot, and should not reconcile ourselves to the anti-democratic, illegal actions of all sorts of demogogues and intriguers, to their stirring up national dissension, to their methods of course pressure and intimidation, to their attempts to demoralize the party and soviet bodies and their staff, to their stirring up in society of hostility and bitterness, anxiety, and uncertainty. These are impermissible and intolerable action. They should be resolutely condemned.

In the statement adopted on 20 February, the USSR Supreme Soviet warned the destructive forces against attempts to rock our social boat and bound the government and soviet bodies in the localities to guarantee strict supervision [kontrol] to ensure that any rally takes place only with the approval of the authorities and that Soviet laws be strictly and steadfastly observed.

The CPSU Central Committee, supporting the political statement of the Supreme Soviet, calls upon all party organizations, all working people of the country, to defend perestroyka, to implement in deed the demands of the supreme body of power. The CPSU Central Committee calls upon communists and nonparty members, workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, trade unions and the Komsomol, men and women, youths and veterans everywhere and universally, to protect the law, the principles of democracy, to rebuff all those who are urging chaos, provoking conflicts, dissension, and enmity and creating instability in society.

The law enforcement bodies are called upon to strictly see to it that law and order is maintained, to resolutely halt any anti-constitutional actions, and to protect people.

Ultimately, it is the working person who has the decisive word. The Central Committee expresses confidence that the working people, through their level of organization, their discipline, responsibility, and determination in the fight against everything that hampers perestroyka and upsets its creative rhythm, will ensure the success of the transformations, which have developed in the country at the initiative of our party. It is only possible to bring the country out of the present complex situation, to direct it toward economic growth, to create a healthy society and

a life of dignity, through the combination of responsibility and common sense, lawfulness, discipline and democracy, and honest work.

The CPSU Central Committee appeals for democratic unity in the name of the socialist fatherland, in the name of the well-being of all the peoples of the country, of society as a whole, and in the name of happiness in every home and every family.
CPSU Central Committee.

Moscow Dailies Question Usefulness of Rallies

'Exploitation' Noted

PM2302112290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Vyacheslav Dolganov article opening new "Political Diary" rubric: "Rallies: Democracy or Extremism?"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The changes in society's life today are so rapid, events so varied, and interest in them so high in our politicized society that we have decided to open a new rubric: Political Diary.

Rallies, demonstrations. Demonstrations, rallies. Debates, banners, resolutions. And next weekend—all over again. Sometimes it seems that the whole country is taking part in one big rally, one big demonstration.

The emotions of the seething squares. Who is "for"? Everyone is "for." Who is "against"? Everyone else? Carried. Carried. Carried! Unanimously! And not a shadow of a doubt. But large masses of people coming together tend not to have doubts.

Ostankino, 18 February. Hundreds of people chanting in unison after yet another speaker: "Shame!" or "Down with!" And everywhere there are banners, placards, slogans. It is hard to say how many of them there were at the foot of the television tower last Sunday. The attacks and downright insults on the placards and in the speeches followed a certain system. They were addressed to the Politburo and the Supreme Soviet, which are "throwing a noose of capitalism and slavery onto the necks of the Russian people." The mass media were accused of "conniving" with the legislators. The deputies were constantly dubbed "so-called people's" deputies, and every decision of theirs was explained, as was the position of the press, in terms of the influence of the mafia, international imperialism, and Zionism.

Frightening words rained down on the overexcited public. Our parliament, they say, is controlled from the West. The authorities are deliberately promoting the spread of AIDS. They are introducing unrestrained sex, drug addiction, and drunkenness on instructions from outside. The Russian people are oppressed and robbed by "foreigners". Incidentally, a handwritten notice indicated that it was a rally of "democratic movements in defense of Russia and the Russian people."

They had their say—and then dispersed, the reader may say. Spontaneous forces, what can you do about it. Spontaneous?

The efficient organization, the controlled, rather than spontaneous, nature of events could be perceived by many signs. Speakers succeeded one another without interruption, enlarging on and developing one and the same theme: The Motherland is in danger, it is being ruined by reforms and reformers, democracy is not our way, but an alien influence exerted by forces that want to finally destroy Russia and the Russian people.

Other, very familiar themes came up in parallel. In the good old days there was order, there was plenty of everything in the stores, people lived better, more happily. The other side of history received few mentions. The furthest they went was to speak of "individual errors connected with the complexity of the domestic and foreign situation."

Meanwhile young guys in "leather-look" jackets, with badges depicting the two-headed eagle and St. George slaying the dragon, were collecting five- and 10-ruble notes and three- and one-ruble coins in plastic bags.

The planning could be detected in something else, too. There were very few banners and placards that people had brought spontaneously. The main bulk of them were brought and erected by people who were obviously not doing this for the first time. The improvised stands of mysterious salesmen were interesting: A duplicated portrait of the generalissimo in dress uniform was on sale alongside monarchist badges. A poet who is not very well known to the general reading public, but received a tumultuous welcome from "his" people, declared his simultaneous devotion to Ivan the Terrible and Stalin. A colleague of his was signing copies of his "patriotic" anthology for everyone who wanted it (at three rubles each).

Another two rallies were held on the same day. At one of them they were not merely calling for, but loudly and resolutely demanding what amounted to a nationwide celebration of the February 1917 revolution. They had their "hawkers" here too: Among the crowd they were boldly selling xeroxes of a page from the Usmankhodzhayev trial. A ruble a copy. Rally politics turns out to be economics, too, for some people.

And I want to ask myself, and others: How can we define our positions on all this? How do the initiators of the rallies cope with the enormous responsibility that is always associated with calling people out into the streets? How does every one of us define his position as—carried away by curiosity, interest, or clear conviction—he joins the throngs in the human sea of the squares? After all, in 1990 this sea is very different from what it was in 1986.

The sea gathers under one set of slogans. But it turns into a rally or demonstration with fundamentally different slogans. It pours out into the streets to defend perestroyka, but once in the streets it forgets the Constitution

and the laws, and what kind of perestroyka can you have without them...? So the human "sea" today has a clearly defined character. It is now almost breaking out of all control, beyond the influence of even its own favorite orators. Or is that perhaps precisely what some people want, that it should get out of control? Unfortunately we already know what that leads to.

Clearly the art of living under conditions of widening democracy has proved not merely difficult. For some people it is apparently simply unnecessary, because they perceive democracy solely as an opportunity to achieve their own goals, spread only their own views, and take account exclusively of their own opinion and their own interests. If anything does not fit into this simple outline—down with it! If they do not like a decision of the legislative authorities—down with it! (Alas, some of the people's elected representatives, even while sitting in parliament, sometimes set an example for the whole country.) If a law does not suit them—throw it out! If they do not like a newspaper article or a television commentary—down with it, down with it, shame on it!

What is this—democratization? Certainly not. It is simply that in the guise of democratization one kind of "unanimity" is replaced by another, one kind of intolerance by a new kind of intolerance.

The most alarming thing is that all extreme viewpoints are justified as being "the people's will"—to be more precise, justified by resolutions at rallies and demonstrations. Even the proposal to mark some kind of anniversary of the last czar of the Romanov dynasty—even that was "backed" by a rally. And it, too, is represented as the will of the broad masses and as evidence of the politicization of society.

But there is politicization, and then there is exploitation, the utilization of the political awakening of the masses for selfish purposes. We must all understand that. And another thing: What is being born in the streets and squares today is not a quest for truth, not consultation with us, but a struggle for power. Only by realizing this will we find ourselves holding rallies for perestroyka, rather than rallies under perestroyka's banners that conceal a struggle against perestroyka.

'Rally Fever Goes On'

PM2202125090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Parfenov article under rubric "Polemical Notes": "Rallies: What They Contribute to Our Life. Whom Do They Benefit?"]

[Text] It would be nice to invent an instrument capable of illuminating a person's heart and soul. Suppose a worker is walking past the entrance to his plant into a square where yet another rally is assembling. What is in this working man's soul? Why does the crowd at the plant gates divide into two? Some people go into the shops as usual, to their machine tools, while others turn into the square, where people take turns to climb onto an empty freight container serving as a rostrum, from where they shout. Whoever shouts loudest, gets the most applause.

This square recently has been exercising a magnetic attraction, not only on "free agents" who continue receiving their payments and salaries even if they do not turn up at the office for weeks on end; some of the workers also stand around here for hours on end, and if they are not in their shops the machine tools stand idle, the power station turbines grind to a halt, and no goods come off the conveyor belts.

No doubt it is easy, even without the help of such an instrument, to answer the other question that springs from the first: Can the country improve the situation in the stores, when, because of losses of working time, the production of goods is not growing, but declining? Or can a worker's family that urgently needs improved housing conditions obtain an apartment quickly, when in the past year far fewer apartment blocks were built than in the previous year?

It is an obvious law of nature that the construction of factories and housing proceeds far more slowly in those republics in which there are most rallies and strikes to protest the housing shortage. In Azerbaijan last year, the plan for commissioning new facilities was only 52 percent fulfilled; in Georgia, the figure was 56 percent; in Armenia—68; and in Moldavia—70 percent. Yet in republics where the working class did not indulge in rallies and strikes, such as Belorussia, all the facilities were built on time and the construction plan for commissioning them was actually exceeded.

Many speakers in the squares castigate the trade sector and the food and light industry workers for wasting vegetables, fruit, and meat and producing too little good clothing and footwear. There is a good deal of truth in what they say. But while rightly exposing the as yet unmasked mafiosi, let us ask ourselves: What are we ourselves doing to ensure that these potatoes, which are in short supply, make their way without losses from the field to the store counter? This is a question of the utmost importance. Our USSR State Committee for Statistics, after investigating the condition of bases and stores where potatoes and other fruit and vegetable produce are kept, produced some staggering figures. The trade sector's requirements for storage facilities are less than half met. The technical condition of the stores and bases is terrible: One in 10 storehouses is located in premises that are not suitable for the storage of these products. The state trade network stores them in nearly half of its dumps—piled up just anyhow. There is no one to package the potatoes and fruit. And it is no accident that every year, on average, more than 1.25 million tonnes of potatotes, or one in every eight tonnes brought from the fields, fail to reach the consumer because of poor storage. Nearly 160,000 tonnes of fruit and much

other produce rot. The total volume of losses in the five-year plan to date, at retail prices, is more than 3.5 billion rubles.

These losses should, of course, be spoken of at rallies. But the main point is that it is time to move on from incantations to actions. And where are our economic planners here? Why is it that in 70 years they have not managed to eliminate the disproportion between production, storage, and processing of produce? And those who are doing the shouting should be told that when you have an empty stomach it is difficult to keep your balance on any platform, even a freight container set up in the middle of a busy square.

The loud-mouthed populist orators drum into the rally participants the idea that the most important thing is political power, to win it as soon as possible at all costs. Only as yet it is not clear for whom this power is to be won. And on listening to these speeches many people, even those who were formerly calm, fly into a rage and try the strength of their own voice. The result of this hysteria is clear from the events in Baku, Bukhara, Dushanbe....

Yet political power, as intelligent people maintain, does not solve problems by itself. Any power draws its strength from the economy and from the transfer of economic power to the working people, shareholding and leasing collectives, and individual working people. And from people's ability to work in a professional way and handle carefully the wealth of the earth and everything created by human labor.

As for the transfer of economic power to the working people's hands, this could and should be dealt with more quickly and rationally by our people's deputies in parliament, which is indeed what is happening now. Let us help the Supreme Soviet thoughtfully and also in a professional way to formulate laws that will give the working people the opportunity to take economic power in their hands. And my readers among the workers should ponder the fact that the shrill voices of orators from hastily erected platforms and inflammatory speeches poured down on our heads have the aim not of making life easier, but of further damaging the masses' mood, intensifying the working person's imaginary sense of grievance, kindling hatred and malice, and arousing other dark feelings that have never done people any good throughout history.

Of course, the working person is in many ways justified in his wrath against bureaucratic dominance, paper methods of economic leadership, and those economic organs that, with the help of numerous departmental instructions and directives, deprived people of their enterprise and their capacity for thought and made them blindly execute patently absurd plans for the sake of achieving the right reporting figures.

It is perhaps particularly important today to tackle vital problems by thinking, rather than by shouting and waving banners. Of course, many informal associations, especially environmentalists, rightly and urgently raise the question of cleaning up our cities. By, among other things, closing plants that pollute the air and water. But you cannot adopt the wisest decision at a rally: whether to halt the plant or to reduce discharges drastically and effectively by spending the necessary funds to do so. However, recently we have been resolving these questions too by steamroller tactics. And it is no coincidence that last year and in the early part of this year more than 1,000 major enterprises were halted at the public's demand because of the lack of ecological safeguards. This is one reason for the decline, by many billions of rubles, in the production of industrial output. The effects were particularly severe for enterprises in the chemical and timber complex, where many plants were closed that produce drugs urgently needed by millions of sick people or pulp and paper, the life blood of culture and glasnost.

It transpires that the rally fever arising from glasnost rebounds on glasnost itself: We have not yet discovered how to produce newspapers, journals, and books without paper. And does even the biggest rally have the right to jeopardize people's health by halting the production of vitally important medical supplies? Excesses in either direction have no right to exist. It is obviously necessary immediately to resume work at the closed plants and at the same time to improve the purification facilities.

Meanwhile, rally fever goes on. There are louder and louder calls to break with the past and turn toward the West. Not only Soviet people, but the entire world is watching the development of events in our country. The English journalist Brian May recently gave an interesting interview to our largest-circulation workers' newspaper, TRUD.

In this interview, I noticed the concluding thought: "I find it hard to imagine how the political groupings in the USSR, which adhere sometimes to diametrically opposing views, irrespective of whether they are called parties, could turn into a force capable of formulating a viable plan for economic progress, on which success in all other spheres and the future of society as a whole depend."

In connection with this conclusion, the British journalist drew particular attention to N.I. Ryzhkov's plan aimed at the mass, systematic production of consumer goods in the next 2 years. If as much effort is invested in the implementation of this plan as in the industrialization of the thirties, Soviet stores will be supplied with goods.

The organizers of rallies implement their "measures" with enviable purposefulness, and from time to time behave in a more unbridled way and go even further. Here they draw mainly on the support of young people, exploiting their ignorance or distorted impression of many historical facts. The "DS" [Democratic Union] people, for instance, try mercilessly to trample into the dirt all the people's past values and creative deeds. They are, thereby, not only exacerbating the "generation gap"

problem, but also depicting the life of the older generations as a succession of errors and blaming the "ancestors" for all today's troubles and difficulties.

Whom does this benefit? The working class? Young people? No, it benefits those who seek by every means to destabilize the situation, exacerbate the economic and, thence, the political situation in the country in the period of discussion of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th party congress, and achieve their own selfish goals at the expense of the people they deceive at rallies.

Ever since mankind became conscious, he has had two deep-rooted desires: for freedom and for justice. But these two desires, in any civilized society, must be balanced and correlated with the responsibility of the individual or the collective to society.

By means of rallies and strikes, it is easier to disrupt this equilibrium than to establish it. That is the crux of the matter!

PRAVDA Readers Support Presidency Idea

PM2302095090

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 February 1990 carries on page 1 of its Second Edition a 1,500-word "Letters to PRAVDA" feature under the heading "People's Confidence." The feature, consisting of five letters from readers, begins with the editorial introduction:

"Today, now that the question of presidential power is on the agenda for the country's political life, readers' letters to PRAVDA express people's concern at the situation in our society. Their leitmotiv is confidence in the deputies elected by nationwide ballot and willingness to grant them the powers to resolve this question in order to stabilize the situation and protect the interests of perestroyka."

The letters express concern over the country's economic problems, the increase in crime, and interethnic conflicts, and all express approval of the idea of presidential power. In the first letter, N. Barsov from Chernovtsy calls for "urgent preemptive measures" to ensure the socialist rule of law and improve the work of law enforcement bodies, saying: "This work should be headed by a plenipotentiary president whose appointment can no longer be postponed. Society cannot go on for years living in tension in the expectation that a better life will arrive of its own accord."

V. Ruzhanskiy, a steel worker from Taganrog, expresses anxiety over the growing "disorders" in the country, and adds: "Before each shift we have a 10-minute workers' discussion, during which we talk about the country's economic and political situation. We realize that it is not enough simply to talk about it. You cannot help perestroyka by talking. What is needed is firm authority, what our country needs, in the end, is a plenipotentiary president. And we will back up our authorities with action, discipline, and high-quality labor. That is not only my opinion, but also that of my comrades—the steel workers of the No. 1 open hearth shop."

The third letter, from a group of CPSU veterans from Kirov, calls for unity to end the crisis situation in the country. "We appeal to the government and the Supreme Soviet—there must be order in the country, the laws must be enforced. We appeal to the communists: A split in the party cannot be allowed. That could create enormous difficulties in the resolution of the accumulated problems. We are in favor of a kind of democracy that presupposes discipline, order, organization, and a profound sense of responsibility on the part of each individual for the country and for perestroyka. We are convinced that the institution of the presidency is necessary in the country today. It will help us to emerge from the crisis and solve the accumulated problems."

The collective of the Krasnodar "Tsentrpriborservis" Production Association expresses concern at the "weakening of the organs of power at every level" and their "helplessness" in combating corruption and speculation. The letter observes that "ungovernability and spontaneous forces are taking on a threatening character in society." It concludes: "We are confident that the people have real wisdom and the creative urge in sufficient measure rightly to assess the actions of the people's elected representatives in stabilizing the situation. One such measure, in our view, is the establishment of presidential power, conferring on the head of state the powers necessary to defend democracy. We call on our deputies to approve this decision in order to remove the threat to perestroyka. We must not allow democracy to be turned into anarchy and law and order into tyranny. We call for an end to to anarchy and irresponsibility in decisionmaking. We demand legal, social, and economic guarantees for perestroyka."

The final letter, from Yu. Varava, party committee secretary on an Altay Kray state farm, expresses the collective's concern at events in Transcaucasia and accuses "dark forces" of whipping up interethnic strife, concluding: "We have had enough of settling old scores. It is time at long last to learn to respect the authorities. That is why we support the idea of presidential authority in our country: It will be able to protect democracy today."

'Has State Lost Control Over Weapons?'

PM2202172090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 5, 4 Feb 90 pp 10-11

[Dmitriy Radyshevskiy feature incorporating interviews with Militia Major General Leonid Popov and Chief Military Procurator Lieutenant General Aleksandr Katusev: "Many Military Weapons Get Stolen. An Outbreak of Violence in Southern USSR Poses Issue of Massive Illegal Possession of Weapons"]

[Text] How could it happen that, in a country where the sale of arms has always been a punishable offense, a host of people can be armed with illegally acquired weapons? How do racketeers and thugs, or cooperative members and ordinary men in the street (who happen to defend themselves from the former), lay their hands on these weapons? Why are the arsenals of the Popular Fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan capable of rivalling the regular army?

And, most importantly, has the state lost control over weapons?

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR reports that, as of October 1, 1989, the Ministry is looking for over 9,000 missing weapons. According to estimates, the amount of illegally possessed arms has grown twofold during the last few months.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR reports that, during 11 months of 1989, educational institutions, the DOSAAF Voluntary Society for Assisting the Army, Air Force and Navy, and militarized guards lost a total of 3,125 weapons.

MN questions are answered by head of the all-Union association "Okhrana" (Guards) Maj.-Gen. of the Militia Leonid Popov:

MN: How do weapons "drain" civilian organizations?

L. P.: My department is responsible for 333,088 places storing weapons. Those in towns and cities are fitted out with electronic burglary devices, which - in case of break-in, sends warning signals to special guards centres. During 1989, there were only 13 break-ins. However, the situation is more complicated in the rural area. An electronic guards centre cannot be installed in each village. Neither can we station an anti-terrorist crew in each village. Therefore, the majority of thefts and forcible seizure of arms happen in rural secondary and vocational schools, DOSAAF offices, shops, hunting clubs, and shooting galleries. A small-calibre rifle is a deadly weapon. A drill submachine-gun can easily be converted into a regular one. A door of a military instructor office can be forced open with a crowbar.

MN: How many stores of weapons are you responsible for in Armenia and Azerbaijan?

L. P.: There are 172 storage places in Armenia and 388 in Azerbaijan. Almost all of these are equipped with electronic guards. However, the electronic protection is switched on at night, while robbers strike there in the daytime and the human guards do not, as a rule, resist the robbery.

MN: But why do weapons get lost all around the country?

L.P.: Under my command there are 800,000 guards, 82,967 of which have regulation revolvers and carbines. The rest of the men are not as heavily armed. The majority of the guards are poorly-trained people of advanced age. Of late, there has been a sharp rise in attempts to rob them of their weapons. We plan to reduce the number of human guards in favour of electronic guard systems. [Popov ends]

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR reports that, as of October 1, 1989, the Ministry of Defence of the USSR is missing 1,955 weapons.

MN questions are answered by Chief Military Procurator, Lt-Gen. of Justice Aleksandr Katusev.

MN: How many weapons are now missing from the Soviet armed forces?

A.K.: I'm unable to quote a precise figure. In Transcaucasia, army posts, patrols and garrisons are constantly attacked. Soldiers are robbed of their weapons, bullet-proof jackets, and uniforms. Here's a recent report from there: at night, a crowd of people attacked the weapons depot and took away 134 submachine guns. Why didn't the soldiers open fire? Perhaps, that was due to the "Tbilisi syndrome".

MN: But how do weapons get lost in the armed forces?

A.K.: Last year, the Military Procurator's office investigated 272 cases of theft of arms and ammunitions by servicemen. 109 missing pieces have been recovered. Often soldiers just lose their weapons because of carelessness and gross violation of their guard duty. Sometimes, weapons get lost by accident. Yet, the majority of the weapons get lost because of poor equipment at weapons depots.

MN: Do you know about instances of theft of other military hardware? According to reports from Transcaucasus, military formations of the Popular Fronts there have at their disposal armoured personnel carriers, helicopters and antiaircraft weapons.

A.K.: The extremists possess several drill tanks and combat infantry vehicles which they have stolen from military-training departments of several higher schools. AA Guns mentioned in the cited report are in fact antihail pieces stolen from meterologists and glaciologists. Recently, the extremists grabbed from the army two AA systems Strela dubbed Soviet Stingers. Luckily, they turned out to be faulty. Helicopters flown by Popular Fronts have been grabbed from Rescue teams, oilers and geologists. Now, the army is actively requisitioning weapons from the independent groups. What causes more concern is the fact that weapons, and particularly explosives, have recently started to be illegally produced at state-owned factories there. [Katusev ends]

Unfortunately, I couldn't get information about two sources of illegally kept weapons, which are accounted for by far not the small portion of arms in unauthorized private use. They are: arms factories and losses during railway transportation of manufactured arms. I didn't count on getting information about the ready-made arms and parts (from which weapons are assembled later)

stolen from factories. Yet I was baffled to hear the deputy head of the Chief Department of the Procurator's Office of the USSR for control over the special militia force (which guards factories of the Ministry of Defence industry of the USSR) Yuriy Potemkin says that "nothing gets stolen from these factories. Only once was a guard overpowered and robbed of his revolver." (But as we know, a trainload of "unidentified" battle tanks has been discovered in the port of Novorossiysk).

One article is too short to contain an analysis of all the ways weapons reach society. The KGB's work to counter the smuggling of arms and to investigate cases when clandestine clashes of arms have been discovered would make a subject for separate stories. Next month, MN will be granted an interview by Alexey Nikolayev, head of the Department of the Procurator's Office of the USSR for control over investigation and inquiry into the militia, after he has analyzed the information about the "drain" of weapons from the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR (Ministry forces lost 1,562 fire arms during 11 months of 1989 alone!)

Weapons Stolen During Recent Disturbances

LD2202195990 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov:

Thousands of guns, large quantities of ammunition and tonnes of explosives were stolen by militants during recent inter-ethnic disturbances in different regions of the Soviet Union.

Last July 5,069 kilograms of explosives and 4,840 firearms, including 444 with a high killing capacity, were seized by rebels in Abkhazian territory alone. In Armenia and Azerbaijan, militants stole thousands of firearms and more than 20 tonnes of explosives in January this year, a briefing at the USSR Interior Ministry was told today.

Criminals have stepped up their activity, too. They seize arms to murder, rob and rape. As a result the tense situation is further aggravated.

Nearly 40 per cent of all weapons have been stolen from ordinary schools where they were not properly guarded. Special concern is evoked by increasingly frequent thefts of weapons from specialised guard units. Over the past five years 153 firearms have been stolen in 140 such thefts.

In 1989 the USSR Interior Ministry began a series of actions to avert the theft of weapons and explosives in the country and improve storage, so as to cut off channels through which they can get into the hands of militants and criminally-minded people. This work is continuing, the briefing was told.

AIDS Cases Rise to 446; 19 Deaths Reported

LD2102220590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpts] There was a press conference on the problem of AIDS in the USSR Ministry of Health in Moscow today. Our correspondent Tatyana Vakulovskaya reports:

[Vakulovskaya] Any report on the theme of AIDS does not evoke just idle curiosity here as it did a few years ago. An epidemic has begun in the country. There are 446 Soviet citizens infected; 19 people have died, including 11 children. At the press conference we were shown slides and maps on the spread of AIDS, diagrams on foreign countries and our own country. Whereas in Western countries the largest number of victims comes from among drug addicts and prostitutes, that is the high-risk group, in our country the largest number is children. To be specific: In Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic there 92 people infected with AIDS of whom 75 are children; in Volgograd Oblast 59 people of thom 46 are children; in Rostov na Donu there are 69 people of whom 63 are children; in Stavropol Kray 15 people of whom 13 are children. So that is the terrible picture. Listen to what was said by Mikhail Ivanovich Narkevich, head of the epidemiological section of the USSR Ministry of Health, who held this press conference.

[Begin Narkevich recording] The checking which was organized everywhere at all treatment establishments revealed very many shortcomings in treatment, in observing the disinfection regulations and the sterilization regime. Many measures were taken as a result of this. In the Ukraine alone over 1,000 fines were imposed. Many decisions were taken on closing and temporarily halting the use of many medical institutions. All the same, there were punitive measures, but on the part of medical workers the highest form of discipline is conscious discipline. We also went down the path of training the personnel and convincing them. The Ministry of Health and our anti-AIDS committee made a special appeal to medical workers in which we appealed to their morality, because it is possible to have a sufficient number of disposable syringes and make wonderful use of them several times.

A new law has been drawn up to combat AIDS. As far as I am aware it has been included on the agenda of this difficult session which has begun at the Supreme Soviet and it should be discussed there. There is an agreement with Comrade Lukyanov. [end recording]

[Vakulovskaya] Yuriy Tikhonovich Kalinin, deputy minister of the USSR medical industry, also took part in the press conference. Of course he was asked whether our medical services would be supplied with disposable syringes.

[Begin Kalinin recording] Without fail, we together with the Ministry of General Machine Building, will ensure

the supply to the health services of 1,800 million disposable syringes. [passage omitted] We think that by 15 April - 1 May we will have the capacity to produce about 1,000 million articles per year. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 21 February in a report on this news conference adds: "The virus has already been detected in 11 out of the 15 union republics. According to doctors' forecasts, the number of people infected will exceed 1,500 this year; in 1992 it will exceed 24,000, and a year after that it will increase over threefold."

10 Cases in Uzbekistan

LD0602112290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 6 February carries a 3.5-minute report by correspondent Tatyana Vokolovskaya who asks (Mikhail Ivanovich Markevich), head of the Main Epidemiological Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Health, to comment on the discovery of AIDS cases in Uzbekistan.

(Markevich) plays down the information that 10 HIV cases have been found in Uzbekistan, of whom eight are Africans studying there, one woman formerly married to an African, and one homosexual who himself asked to be tested. He explains that any foreigner confirmed as infected will be deported as were those confirmed in Tashkent.

At present, 429 Soviet citizens in 11 union republics are infected with the AIDS virus. In the last two years, more than 47 million people have been tested, mainly blood donors, but also those in at-risk groups—drug addicts, homosexuals, vd sufferers, people charged with sexual offenses, people with promiscuous habits such as prostitutes—so that there is quite a good idea of the situation in these categories of the population. Testing is increasing of people in hospitals and outpatients if they show clinical indications of AIDS. More than 3 million such people were examined over a year, of whom 23 were found to be infected.

In answer to a question as to how the infected foreigners got into Uzbekistan, he explains that they are not tested until after they have settled in and that results take time to come through. Suspected cases are invited to stay in clinics while their immune status is further investigated—two of those from Uzbekistan are currently being investigated in Moscow. He pointed out that eight foreigners have been found in Uzbekistan, and 470 in the country as a whole.

Drugs Seen Behind Much Crime in South

PM2202145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[A. Pokrovskiy report: "Roofs for Drug Addicts"]

[Text] G. Shkurba, an official at Voronezh Oblast Internal Affairs Administration Political Department, sent the editorial office unexpected information: The ceilings of rural homes insulated with poppy straw have become... a particularly popular source of drugs here today. The homeowners, generally old people living on their own, are surprised when they hear the visitors' requests. They boil down to wanting permission to remove the "insulation" from the ceiling in return for appropriate payment. This is a golden opportunity for dealers: On the black market, a beaker of this raw material is worth between 50 and 80 rubles (R).

The above is one of the bizarre actions widespread among drug addicts. Alas, extremely serious things are happening here, and last year alone 28,471 drug-related crimes were committed. In addition drug addicts also committed other dangerous crimes. They include 44 premeditated murders and 46 robberies....

"In total, proceedings have been instituted against more than 90,000 people for breaches of the drug laws," A. Sergev, deputy chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Criminal Investigation Main Administration, said. "That figure includes administrative proceedings against 48,960 people for sowing or cultivating oilseed poppies and hemp, while more than 100,000 areas sown to these crops have been found.... However, drug addicts 'branch out' in other types of crime."

Statistics confirm the colonel's words. In a number of areas, drug addicts commit up to 40 percent of the burglaries in apartments and 80-90 percent of cases of pickpocketing. In certain regions of Central Asia, in the Far East, and in the North Caucasus, most mercenary crimes have just one aim—to obtain money for drugs.

Here is a brief word about what the MVD is doing to combat narcotics addiction. It has carried out Operation "Poppy," during which illegal opium and oilseed poppy and hemp crops were destroyed over an area of 290 hectares (197.2 hectares in 1988). Almost 10,000 hectares of wild hemp have also been destroyed. Some 27.2 tonnes of drugs and raw materials have been removed from illegal circulation....

What is the drug market like in our country? In the past year, in conjunction with medics, the militia have registered approximately 32,000 people "who use narcotic substances for nonmedicinal purposes." The number of official drug addicts in the USSR is more than 130,000. But specialists warn that there is no need to flatter ourselves over this comparatively low figure (for instance, approximately 20 million people dabble with drugs in the United States). Certainly, we have not yet reached crisis point in this sphere of life. However, latent—covert—drug addicts run into vast numbers and, according to some estimates, the number of sufferers is more than double the number of registered addicts or even more. Another figure which, in my view, clearly characterizes the state of affairs in the drug market is the

total amount of money involved in drugs—approximately R400 million. Imagine, how this money works and for whom.

Drug-Related Crime Up, Countermeasures Cited

PM2002155390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka report under rubric "USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Briefing": "One of Causes of Crime"]

[Text] As reported at yesterday's USSR Internal Affairs Ministry briefing, selective research shows that drug addicts commit up to 30-40 percent of burglaries and 80-90 percent of pickpocket thefts. One convicted drug addict in every three has taken part in thefts and robberies.

In the country as a whole, 2,400 more drug-related crimes than in 1988 were brought to light last year in the course of investigative and operational-inquiry measures. Administrative proceedings were instituted against more than 65,000 citizens for various offenses related to drug addiction, including approximately 49,000 for illegal sowing and cultivation of drug-containing plants.

In conjunction with health care organs, approximately 32,000 persons who indulge in the nonmedical use of drugs were identified and registered.

More than 3,000 drug pushers were rendered harmless.

This is, of course, a certain success, but the figures cited at the briefing do not, alas, permit the conclusion to be drawn that a palpable blow has been dealt to drug addiction in the country.

An interregional department has been set up to combat drug addiction, and operation "Poppy" has been carried out. In the course of the operation, illegal crops of opium and oil-yielding poppies and hemp were detected and destroyed over a large territory. Some 27.2 tonnes of drugs and raw materials for their manufacture have been taken out of illegal circulation. Measures have been drawn up to stop abuses of narcotics and psychotropic substances. These steps are a constituent part of the statewide program to combat crime during 1991-1995.

'Foreigner,' Smugglers Arrested in Moscow

LD2202132590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0613 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Viktor Ponomarev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—An attempt to smuggle a consignment of gold and jewelry articles out of the country by a group of people connected with the Alma-Ata "Fram" cooperative has been foiled by the State Security Committee. Among the valuables was a ballpoint pen that actually was a firing device with ammunition. A foreigner who was a participant in this criminal act was arrested.

During the course of the investigation, the intercept group arrested the smuggling operation's organizer and two of his bodyguards who were carrying firearms. All three are citizens of Alma-Ata. One of them, who held a passport in someone else's name, had been sought for two years by the law enforcement bodies for serious bodily harm and robbery.

During a search of a Moscow apartment, which is leased by the cooperative, three sawn-off hunting rifles and ammunition, and seven cylinders containing tear gas were discovered.

The arrested members of the cooperative, who were in illegal possession of firearms, were handed over to the militia. An investigation is underway.

Baklanov Urges Wide Debate on CPSU Platform

PM1502124590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

["Topical Interview" with O.D. Baklanov, secretary of CPSU Central Committee, by A. Pokrovskiy; place and date not given: "There Are No Simple Solutions. O.D. Baklanov, Secretary of CPSU Central Committee, on February Plenum"]

[Text] [Pokrovskiy] It was hard to get hold of PRAVDA while the CPSU Central Committee February plenum was at work—the newspaper issues with stenographic accounts of the plenum's work were selling like hot cakes. Even though we agreed to follow up our conversation about conversion, while we are about it I would like—taking into account the interest shown by our readers—to ask you to share your impressions from the plenum's work.

[Baklanov] Recently there has been no shortage of advice to and even of prodding of the party—hurry, hurry, otherwise the unpredictable will happen. Yet haste would make it very easy, while justifiably rejecting the bad, to also lose all the good that has happened in the country's life.

It cannot be denied that time really waits for no man. In order to make the right decisions, however, we have to pause for a moment, take stock, appraise our position, and only then act as decisively and responsibly as possible, avoiding obvious mistakes—otherwise the situation could indeed become unpredictable.

This was the kind of work the CPSU Central Committee plenum did over those three days in February. It prepared a launchpad for taking perestroyka into a higher orbit.

[Pokrovskiy] What do you mean by "unpredictable situation?"

[Baklanov] Attacks are now being launched against the party, the Army, the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. But our party is the people's vanguard, our Army is a people's army, the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia are the flesh and blood of the Soviet people in our multinational country. Who then is attacking us, who has raised his hand against our people, against our Soviet Union?! This is not a simple question!

Clearly, we ought to find some answers during the debate on the CPSU Central Committee platform which is now under way. First and foremost, we have to figure out who is attacking us and from what positions. Look carefully—the most diverse political forces, even the anarchists, are promoting perestroyka slogans. Some people simply use them as camouflage, while others have what might be called "vested interests" in perestroyka. In this situation it is especially important to identify our own positions....

I would like to say that people have plenty of perplexing questions. For example, I was bluntly asked in Latvia: Does the country really need an army? If it does, why is there no proper concern for it? Many workers were puzzled: Why is it that cooperatives pay more for labor that is identical in state enterprises and, moreover, without deducting the appropriate tax? Which one of the businessmen whose example is referred to with growing frequency, which prosperous state could allow such a "commerce?"

There is another bitter question asked by our citizens. Why is it that the constitutional rights of our compatriots in a number of republics were remembered only after people were killed and wounded? These rights have not been fully guaranteed for thousands of refugees to this day.

There is just one answer to all these questions: The country has started experiencing the most dangerous kind of shortage—a shortage of power. How did this shortage develop? We are used to having the party exercising the full totality of power in our country. Now we say—"All Power to the Soviets." At the same time, it is becoming clear that they have still not learned how to exercise it. Matters must be set right beginning at the very top, by introducing presidential power invested with all the relevant powers. This would also promote the efficiency of soviets at all levels. Unless this is done, the eventual outcome could be the same as in the economy, which has proved virtually ungovernable.

[Pokrovskiy] But we do have an organ of real power up there. I mean the USSR Council of Ministers....

[Baklanov] Let me begin my answer with a bit of an analysis. Back in the seventies we had an authoritative and energetic chairman of the Council of Ministers in A.N. Kosygin. He proposed and started implementing a major economic reform. But he failed to gain support from the party leadership at the time or from the Supreme Soviet, and the reform misfired.

The situation now is different. The party itself put forward the idea of perestroyka, and it is the economic organs which are taking time over its implementation. Yet the Council of Ministers, for example, has brought together a powerful component of specialists. In my view, however, it lacks a sufficiently creative atmosphere, sufficiently consistent and fast actions. As for the program presented by the government to the Congress of People's Deputies, it is collapsing before our very eyes. We should have had a state program for conversion back in the last quarter of last year. But it has not emerged from the depths of the Council of Ministers to this day.

Of course, each and every one of us can make mistakes in any job. But the important point is to find the strength and potential to correct them in good time. One such type of potential, as any skilled engineer knows, lies in providing double and triple control systems. Yet we are so cheerfully destroying the notorious administrative edict system that we are undermining that part of centralized control without which not a single civilized state can manage.

This is why I want to stress: The imposition of order in the economy depends only on our own selves, on our self-discipline. Not just in the economy. How can anyone expect success in the implementation of our transformations if there is a shortage of order and discipline in the state and the party?

[Pokrovskiy] There is the occasional mention of quests for some sort of economic panacea—let us pass a good law, it is said, and it will work by itself....

[Baklanov] Let me say this with the utmost certainty: We will all still have to work. It is a different matter that the purpose of legislation is to unfetter each and every one's initiative.

One of the specific features of the platform adopted at the February Plenum is that the implementation of every one of its fundamental provisions will require dozens of supplementary solutions, and every one of them can be described in these words from the plenum speech by the general secretary of the party Central Committee: "There are no simple solutions." In actual fact, questions about a multiparty system, a federation, and ownership give rise to dozens of supplementary questions.

I will say again that we will be unable to cope with the tasks we have set ourselves without creative and concerted work. I believe that the spirit and the atmosphere demonstrated by the plenum are the main condition for success in our work. Given, of course, each communist's lofty responsibility for his own work. This is what is evidently in short supply among many communists and even Central Committee members. Communists ask us: What are you doing?

[Pokrovskiy] It seems to me that we are coming up to the question of public opinion—an idea not taken too much into account in the past. M.S. Gorbachev's example

indicates how important it is to patiently clarify the new ideas emerging in the course of perestroyka.

[Baklanov] Indeed, this is our misfortune at many levels. The trip to Latvia comes to mind once more. We could see groups there, each one sitting behind its own "table" and unwilling to take even a single step in the quest for a mutually acceptable position. Yet they have to live in one and the same land. Clearly, the situation is not simple there. What is happening can be likened to a sloppy housewife's pot of kasha—burning at the bottom while just about coming to the boil at the top. Mixing this "kasha" to reach an even temperature means creating a stable public opinion.

It seems to me that mass media have a major role to play here. It is said at times that the press only reflects the prevailing state of affairs. I disagree. The "reflection" in a distorting mirror can be such that you cannot even recognize yourself. The main point now is to work among people, including work through the mass media. To amicably discuss different opinions, moreover making use of feedback from readers and listeners. This is when a firm public opinion can be shaped.

So, joint work at the February Plenum produced the party's platform for the 28th Congress. It has been submitted for universal discussion rather than for universal acclaim.

I do not think that now it is a matter of so-called editorial amendments. Even a couple of words can carry great weight in such a document. The first section, for example, does not even mention communist ideals. Yet I, just like many of my party comrades, actually joined a Communist Party.

As a plenum participant I voted for the platform, but I turn back to its text time and again. Many others will probably do the same. This is a guarantee that it will become not just a theoretical document but also an nationwide action program.

I would like to end by expressing confidence that the platform and the debate around it will help us find answers to the questions posed by life. This is why all opinions and views should be taken into account as much as possible. I believe that this is realistic in the conditions of perestroyka and glasnost.

Saratov Rally Supports Plenum Decisions

LD2102212790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 21 Feb 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Meetings and demonstrations and many rallies have already firmly become part and parcel of our political life. People are now drawn, as if by a magnet, to the streets in order to have their say, to discuss vitally important problems. It is another matter to what extent such street variants of solving problems that have come to a head can be constructive. Many people will now surely say that it is not very efficient. All the same, it is the objective reality, and people go to attend rallies. One such rally, involving many thousands of people and held in support of the February CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions, has been held in Saratov.

[Begin video report by V. Ryazanov and V. Dolgov] Saratov's central square, the Ploshchad Revolyutsii, has never before seen such diversity of standpoints, as evidenced by trenchant slogans, nor has it seen such fierce passions among the public. [video shows some slogans in support of plenum decisions, others stating that there is no democracy without discipline; for example, "We do not trust the oblast committee!"] Everything that took place here last Sunday took place for the very first time, as far as the people of Saratov are concerned: Both the meeting itself—throughout all the peresroyka years it is as though this form of political life in Saratov were under a ban—and the participation of the oblast and city's leaders in this mass popular and the lengthy line of those who wanted to speak.

[Correspondent] I have one question for all of you. You will be speaking. Briefly, in a word, what is it that you have to offer the people?

[G.Ya. Kiselev, worker] Democratic platform.

[V.N. Davydov, chairman of the Oblast Board of the All-Union Economy Society] There is a problem of trust. If there is no trust between society and the authorities there will be no perestroyka.

[L.A. Belyakova, chairwoman of the Trade Union Committee of the Balakovo Chemical Fibers Production Association] I wish to say, on behalf of women and mothers, that life has become terrible. There is no confidence in tomorrow. All the same, everything depends on us, upon each one of us.

[O.O. Mironov, professor of Saratov Evening Party School] Power, power to the soviets! The soviets ought to have the best people. The apparatus should be put under the control of the soviets and the people. [end video recording]

[Correspondent] The meeting continued for more than four hours. Comrade Murenin, first secretary of Saratov Oblast CPSU Committee, spoke there. I wish to single out a demand that was expressed several times: Any attempts to fan up interethnic strife must be brought to a halt decisively, above all in the rayons where it is planned to reestablish the autonomous republic of Volga Germans.

The dialogue in Saratov has begun, albeit with difficulties. Various political forces are involved in this dialogue. It will be continued on 25 February. The main slogan of the forthcoming meeting is the same one: To support the February CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions. [video shows other slogans, such as "Yes to discipline, no to anarchy"]

Leaders Attend 22 Feb Moscow Garrison Meeting

LD2202182490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] There was a solemn meeting today of representatives of the working people and servicemen of the capital's garrison devoted to the 72d anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. In the Presidium were Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Kryuchkov, Medvedev, Shevardnadze, Pugo, Yazov, Baklanov, military leaders; representatives of party, local soviet, and public organizations; and veterans of the war, the armed forces, and labor. Army General Lushev, first deputy USSR defense minister, addressed those assembled.

Nishanov Hears Meskhetian Turks' Appeals

LD2202160790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today received representatives of the Meskhetian Turk population. In the course of the conversation, having expressed gratitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet for the political rehabilitation of their people, who had been repressed in the past, they raised the question of accelerating examination of their request in connection with the return to their previous places of residence of that portion of the Meskhetian Turk population which is insisting on it.

The participants in the conversation were informed that the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dealing with the problems of the Meskhetian Turk population has completed its work and presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium its proposals, which will be examined.

The representatives of the Meskhetian Turk population also appealed to the government and public of Georgia to display good will and understanding of the problems of the Meskhetian Turks and to provide possible assistance in resolving their issue.

Audit Commission Member Discusses Party Tasks

90UN0975A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Feb 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Z.S. Gulova, member of CPSU Central Audit Commission and USSR people's deputy, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN special correspondent T. Boykova; place and date not given: "I Believe in Our Success!"]

[Text] Brigade leader of a field production brigade in the "20th Party Congress" kolkhoz [collective farm] of Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], USSR People's Deputy Z.S. Gulova shared her impressions of the proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and discussed the tasks the communists of our country are facing and how they currently should act in her opinion.

[Boykova] Zulaykho Sohibnazarovna, the first question is, perhaps, a most traditional but necessary one: What are your impressions and your evaluation of the work of the plenum?

[Gulova] What can I say on this matter? Materials are published in the newspapers. Anybody can read them and find out that the plenum was absolutely extraordinary. There were no reports on one's own work. However, there was sincere concern about the state of affairs in the country and in the party in every speech. The same concern permeates a draft platform which is also going to be published for a popular debate and subsequent adoption by the next party congress with suggestions and additional work taken into account. Incidentally, the congress will also discuss a new CPSU statute. I am expecting a very big change for the better from the congress. However, I also believe that changes will begin sooner. Please take into account the fact that the Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which will open in several days, is to adopt an entire package of laws.

[Boykova] That is, you attach all of your hope to almost simultaneous changes in the economy and in political life?

[Gulova] Yes, but I will be blunt: Both the adoption of new economic laws and decisions on radical changes in the party do not yet ensure the desired result. The main point is for them to begin working, taking real effect in the field. After all, this is the greatest trouble in our country: Decisions which are supposedly correct are made in the center but they do not work in any way in the field.

[Boykova] Why? Could it be that the decisions are not as good as they seem to be?

[Gulova] The decisions are different, but mainly they are good. Something else is at issue—some ill-considered haste, so to say. Let us look at glasnost or democracy. We turned out not to be ready for them, for example, living in the environment of democracy. In quite a few cases, people have a very lopsided notion of it. Democracy means that you say and do what you like. This is how they understand it. They do not understand that without discipline, self-discipline, and comprehensive, strict compliance with the law this amounts to anarchy pure and simple. In this matter, our party functionaries and ideologists do a very poor job. Hence demagoguery and the disintegration of the economy to a great degree. I see a major mistake and even the fault of party functionaries in this field. The enemies of perestroyka used it swiftly and skillfully.

[Boykova] Whom do you consider enemies? Have you seen at least one obvious enemy?

[Gulova] I have seen quite a few. These are the people who deliberately distort the decisions made, package

them for the people, and create such conditions that white appears to be black. After all, the people believe them because they, the enemies, go to the people, work with them all the time whereas party functionaries who are honest people are timid. They await instructions from the center, and are afraid to go to the people. As a result, we have interethnic conflicts, extremism, the tragedy of the Meskhetian Turks, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and so on. This is the fault of demagogues, extremists, and some degenerate party leaders, as well as our ideologists. It is understandable how the former are at fault, and the latter are at fault due to their passivity.

As far as the enemies are concerned... For example, we had First Secretary of the Kulyab Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] Khasanov. For many years, he was considered to be an exemplary communist. Then he was arrested, and turned out to be a thief through and through. You see, he is worse than all the extremists because he was duplicitous, and because the people think: If the first secretary is a thief, what about the rest of them? I believe that this was easier in the time of the revolution and the war because the enemy did not hide. Currently, the enemy frequently carries a party membership card, says the right words, and does everything on the sly in order to interfere with the changes. He is capable of doing many bad things. If only he were alone; if you begin to recall them—Adylov, Rashidov...

[Boykova] How do they specifically oppose changes?

[Gulova] Let us look at, for example, leasing. There is no equipment; it may be difficult to help the lessees. The laws are not in operation. However, all of this notwithstanding, the endeavor would take off right now, under the circumstances we have, and the foodstuffs problem would not be that hopeless, if the local leaders had a sincere desire to get this thing moving. For example, in our brigade we have 1.5 rubles of profit for one ruble of investment. What if this were the case in every lease collective?

[Boykova] Perhaps, your brigade is in a special situation.

[Gulova] Indeed, it is so. They do not turn down my requests for many things for the very reason that I am a member of the CPSU Central Audit Commission and a deputy of the Supreme Soviet. If I were just a brigade leader, just cared about our business and wanted to work well they would not give me much. Is this the way it ought to be? This is where the counteraction is! Many local leaders do not want to change anything because in this case they will have to give up their power. For now, they are tsars.

[Boykova] I know quite a few honest farm managers who have sacrificed their entire lives in order to make their farm advanced, but they are against giving land to the peasants nonetheless, they hamper leasing... What is the reason?

[Gulova] I believe that the reason is found in the very fact that, being good masters, they "have sacrificed their lives" and are now afraid that all of this will fall apart. I believe that being short-sighted is their mistake.

[Boykova] What is your attitude toward the private ownership of land?

[Gulova] Personally, I have been working on the land all my life—26 years, and I know firmly that a peasant will harvest twice as much from his land if he is given the land. All of us stand to win, the entire people, the entire state. I am in favor of labor-based private land ownership. However, I believe that currently we are not yet ready for this resolute step either financially or morally. We should proceed gradually, and give freedom initially to brigade and family contracts and leasing. After that, we should take the next step. We should prepare ourselves. At first, we need to develop rural areas just a little, build housing, roads, storage facilities, enterprises for production processing, and create conditions for the proper life of villagers. Subsequently, we can discuss the transfer of land. This task is included in the CPSU platform which we discussed at the plenum.

[Boykova] However, nobody is coming out against helping rural areas. Everybody is in favor. The issue is where to get everything that is needed to this end. Where and from whom should they take construction materials, equipment, pipes, lumber, and who is going to build all of this?

[Gulova] This will be possible if republics switch to territorial economic accountability and control their budgets themselves while transferring a share to the state. Wherever their are intelligent leaders currently, they will not take funds and build new factories, administrative buildings, circuses, and palaces of culture which, of course, we lack badly. However, this can wait whereas rural areas cannot wait any longer. Currently, we are like a big but very poor family. If hungry children weep and fight over a slice of bread their parents should not be thinking about new clothing or the fact that the roof has a hole and is leaking. They will abandon all of this for now, and will procure food.

[Boykova] There is a point of view according to which the economy of the country will begin rising all by itself, and there is nothing for party functionaries and ideologists to do. What is your opinion?

[Gulova] This is not correct. One will not replace the other. Conditions for the birth of the market should be created. At the same time, very extensive political work in the masses is necessary. After all, the thinking of many people is simple: Last night, the plenum came to a close, and this morning for some reason sausage is still not available. Currently, party functionaries, all communists from a primary organization on up to the Central Committee should do everything so that the adopted laws work, so that nobody locally dares twist them, so that their meaning is explained to the people. In this case, the shelves of our shops will begin to look different. Then the authority of the party will be restored.

[Boykova] What is your attitude toward the discussion on a multiparty system?

[Gulova] If we are going to have many parties now there will be utter disintegration and ruin in the country. Currently, given the situation that we have, we cannot even afford to waste time for such discussions. Let us get on our feet, feed the people, gain a little strength, and then we may have even 100 parties. If a person eats a green peach he will hate peaches for all time to come. However, if he tastes a ripe peach he will say: There is nothing tastier than this. Everything comes in its own time. Conditions for any new endeavor should be created first, and then you should embark on it. After all, in our country all the people hate cooperatives, though they are a remarkable and much-needed endeavor. However, it has been entirely compromised because conditions have absolutely not been created. So, we have the result we do. We also combated alcoholism this way. Incidentally, much was said about this at the plenum—about the sequence and justification for our actions and the fact that we cannot restrict ourselves to half-measures. This is also reflected in the platform. I believe that this is very important. Certainly, we need to enhance discipline. I will repeat that, to this end, we need the law to actually function, the law before which all the people are equal beginning with a kolkhoz member and going up to Mikhail Sergeyevich. In this matter, very much depends currently on the communists.

[Boykova] How do you interpret this equality?

[Gulova] You see, recently I visited America. I saw with my own eyes the unemployed and the homeless. They slept right in the street. Over there, I asked—how is it that you, a rich country, the richest in the world, would not help these unfortunates? There are 3 million of them. This is what they told me: "So, we hired this guy to work for our company for a six-month trial period. For the entire six months, he loafed. We fired him, and wrote in the document that his knowledge is not in line with his diploma, and that he is a born idler and loafer. Following this, it will be very difficult for him to find work in his trade anywhere, perhaps, only dirty, seasonal work. They pay him benefits just so that he will not starve, and this is it." I am in favor of this!

He who works well should live well. He works well, he makes good money, and he buys what he wants with it. Let the lazy one be a pauper! This is no shame. Then every father or mother will point out this rich person to their children and say that he has got to where he is only through his hard and diligent work. Meanwhile, currently a loafer with a diploma which he has bought, lives in a two-story house, occupies a luxurious office, and his wife wears gold jewelry. His neighbor and subordinate works hard all his life and applies himself; however, he is under the command of a fool who appropriates the fruit of his labor. The poor man bears this patiently, he bears it, and then he tells his son: Don't live as I do, live as he does! The people see all of it. If he happens to be a communist on top of this, the people point a finger at him, the fool, thief, and criminal, and say—this is the kind of party we have. Is this fair? No! We still lead a shameful life!

[Boykova] Do you think that we, our generation, will live to see better times?

[Gulova] Yes, definitely! I am certain that in as little as several years the changes are going to be striking because this is what a majority, all honest toilers want. However, the party and all communists should spare no effort in work. We should restore the undermined confidence of the people in the party; this may only be accomplished by specific results. However, I believe in our success.

Yakovlev Addresses Yaroslavl Aktiv Meeting

PM2202144190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings With Working People"]

[Text] Yaroslavl, 17 Feb—A serious conversation about the future of perestroyka, the enhancement of the party's prestige, and ways out of the crisis situation took place today at a meeting of the oblast party organization aktiv to discuss the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th CPSU Congress. The communists were addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Over a five-year period perestroyka has reached a point beyond which the phenomena and processes it has brought into being will become determining and will begin to shape all aspects of our existence, A.N. Yakovlev stressed. This is why resistance to it is becoming increasingly stubborn. This is why people are asking: Will it progress any further, will it take the next step? Or will it put the brakes on transformations and possibly even retreat somewhat?

The essence of the CPSU Central Committee's pre-congress platform is that the party is taking yet another step, and a really major one, in the country's history. A step in the transformation of society, in the perestroyka of the CPSU itself, and in a new awareness of its functions in Soviet society.

I would like to emphasize, A.N. Yakovlev went on to say, that everything that makes up the platform's contents is the direct result of perestroyka and the outcome of the analysis it has effected, the theoretical breakthrough that has been achieved, and the spiritual and moral changes it has already brought to our life. This is what determines the document's main innovative aspect: It is the first strategic program for socialist society's renewal, not an abstract product but something born out of the actual practice of renewal.

People must really be at the center of social development and of the party's policy, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed. What does this mean? If food, housing, goods, and services are in short supply

today, if the social sphere is weak and the countryside is lagging behind—then the entire economy, its organization and management, and the political sphere must be geared to the real, fastest possible satisfaction of these needs. If this is likely to be helped by intensification of the market principle, a multitude of forms of ownership, competition between producers, joint-stock bodies, concerns, and so on—then all this must be utilized without any hesitation.

A.N. Yakovlev gave detailed and exhaustive answers to numerous questions. Communists asked about the party's attitude toward informal organizations, the prospects of the struggle against the shadow economy, the strengthening of primary party organizations' financial independence, and ways of settling interethnic conflicts. Numerous questions were asked about the formation of the corps of delegates to the future congress, the multiparty system, the possible creation of a Russian Communist Party, and economic problems.

Fire at MOSCOW NEWS Building Investigated

LD1502163690 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Five million rubles is the damage from a fire that occurred inside the building housing the national theatrical society and the MOSCOW NEWS weekly, one of the most popular in the USSR and abroad, it was said at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, held in an intact room of the Moscow news editorial office today.

"This might have been an arson, but the real causes of the fire will be reported when an investigation is over," Yegor Yakovlev, MOSCOW NEWS editor-in-chief, told the news conference.

"There were threats and anonymous telephone calls on the eve of the accident," he said. "Notwithstanding anything, the weekly's next issue will be off on Wednesday as usual. Our priority problem now is the roof over our heads. Therefore we urge our readers, subscribers both in the USSR and abroad to give assistance in restoring the building as soon as possible."

"The fire, that lasted as long as four hours, was one of the biggest blazes in Moscow in recent years. Forty-one fire-engineers and eight special vehicles were used to put it out," Lev Belyanskiy, deputy head of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee's Interior Department," said.

State car traffic inspectors coordinated their actions well. There were no casualties, though there were many people in the Gorky Street (centre of Moscow). Only one man perished in the fire.

PRAVDA Roundtable on Party Renewal

90UN0872A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report on roundtable with V. Lysenko, A. Nikolayev, N.Pyatchits, S. Gerasimchuk, V. Travin, Zh. Toshchenko, A. Nemtinov, V. Legostayev, V. Shostakovskiy, L. Onikov, A. Salutskiy, and unidentified moderator, by N. Kozhanov and A. Shinkin: "Discussion Pamphlet No 6"; place and date not given—roundtable participants not further identified]

[Text]

Let Us Clarify Our Positions

Moderator: On the eve of the Central Committee Plenum which is called upon to develop and approve the pre-Congress platform of the CPSU I should like to hear what both practical workers and our theoreticians and social scientists think about the most crucial party problems. Without especially delving into the past let us talk about the present and how to achieve the parameters of the demands that are being placed on it by the society and the realities of today.

What is being actively discussed in the party today? In the first place, of course, the forthcoming party congress, its dates, the agenda, the procedure for electing delegates.... You were able to see from the materials of the "Discussion Pamphlet" what a heated discussion revolved around what at first glance seemed to be purely procedural issues. How polarized opinions are concerning membership in the party, the problems of acceptance and withdrawal from its ranks, and the principle of democratic centralism! Is it possible, say, to have pluralism of currents, say, within the party itself? We have long been taught to see it as a unified monolith that will not tolerate any other structures, nuances, or, God forbid, factions or groupings. But I know that among those present today there are advocates of quite differing viewpoints....

Another block of problems has to do with the election organs and the apparatus, the party and the power. Finally, there is the party and other political organizations, a multiparty system.... In a word, we are faced with an immense range of problems which everyone is hearing about today. To begin with let us try at least to designate the sore spots and the basic points of disagreement and divergence.

V. Lysenko: When speaking about the advocates of a "different viewpoint," the moderator looked significantly at me. Along with Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Shostakovskiy I represent here the just created association of party clubs, the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU."

One can say that this is a new and nonregulation structure. So I should like to discuss the horizontal structures that are now appearing and growing rapidly in our party. A couple of days ago in Moscow there was an all-union conference of party clubs at which delegates from 102

cities of the union were represented. What brought these communists together? Disturbance about the fact that the lower, middle, and also higher echelons of party leadership are sluggish in carrying out perestroyka.

Moreover, in the opinion of many people, it has not actually even started in the party itself. Attempts on the party of communists and individual party organizations somehow to change the situation in the party within the framework of the existing structures, unfortunately, have not yet produced any results.

Therefore, in a number of organizations communists have begun to band together not according to the territorial-production principle but according to particular goals and tasks. One of the first of these associations was the Moscow party club. Its main goal is a radical democratic reform of the CPSU. Such clubs have now appeared in many cities.

Briefly, what are our positions? The initial position is that the type of political party which, having merged with the state, has become totalitarian and antidemocratic, has completely outlived its time. The farther we advance along the path of perestroyka the more the party is becoming the main impediment to those reforms which it itself proclaimed. Therefore, today we need to change over to a democratic party of the parliamentary type. From a power structure which has led and is leading everyone, the CPSU must be transformed into a party which at the elections receives the credit of the confidence of the people. Otherwise any attempts to transfer power to the soviets and reforms within the party will be half measures and there will be no radical renewal of our society.

Moreover it is suggested that we seriously change our ideology, having armed ourselves with the concept of democratic socialism, and change over from a unitary to a federalist principle for structuring the CPSU.

As concerns elections to the forthcoming congress, we suggest direct elections of delegates according to their platforms. I know many dozens of communists who are declaring that they will leave the party if the forthcoming February Plenum of the Central Committee does not adopt a decision on direct elections.

Moderator: But, Vladimir Nikolayevich, the very name "Democratic platform" presupposes seeing in your adherents people who are in favor of precisely democracy in the party. At the same time there are certain intimations in your decisions adopted at the conference which you mentioned and also in your speech here which sound more like ultimatums. Are there not in this throw-backs (or, as they used to say, remnants) of that same authoritarian and not altogether democratic thinking which you are supposedly condemning?

V. Lysenko: It seems to me that now is not the time to hide our heads in the sand. The situation is so critical that frequently you go into an auditorium and the first question they ask you is: "Are you a communist or not?" As soon as you say "communist," there is a buzz of dissatisfaction. They cannot figure out what you are—an informal group member, a formal group member, an apparatchik, or simply a rank-and-file party member. Therefore it seems to me that we are now approaching a very dangerous point.

A. Nikolayev: I am listening to you and this is what bothers me. They try to scare us to the limit right off without explaining the reasons why we should be afraid. They declare that there is the deepest crisis within the party and set forth certain constructs which essentially proclaim self-elimination. I am a practical worker and I suggest that we look at everything from a practical standpoint. Yes, complicated processes are taking place within the party but many of them can be explained in ordinary terms. For instance, last year 400 people left the ranks of the CPSU in our region. But I can tell you responsibly that not a one of them left because of political motives. The people who left were those who already found it difficult to work within the party because of their age. Those who ended up in the party by chance or because of past party admission quotas are also leaving. But you will see what kind of new reinforcements (practically the same number of people) have come to us during this time which is so difficult for the country. These are mainly middle-aged people who have no careerist goals. These are people who are entering the party namely out of conviction. They are not bothered by the current CPSU Regulations and Program which are "ultraconservative" in the opinion of many. They know that ultimately everything is in their hands. The main thing is that they want to work in the party and they are filled with a desire to improve it.

N. Pyatchits: In my opinion, reality gives us cause neither for rosy optimism nor for panic and laying it on too thick. Yes, from the viewpoint of a simple person there is no denying that party authority has been undermined, and quite severely. Those who work at the machine tools, at the test stands, in the combines, and so forth might not be able to figure out all these structures but they remember the obvious things. For example, how has the economy come to be in this condition? Who is to blame? Everyone in turn, naturally, reproaches the party. Further. Who has tried harder than anyone else to acquire a party card recently? This has also been obvious: If a person wants to get to the top of the administrative ladder—he enters the party. There is immediate mistrust among the people: Why does he need a red book?

Here we have again undertaken to revise our history, and everything is somehow one-sided: The excesses of the twenties, the repressions of the thirties, the famine and war of 1948 and 1953 [years as published], and so forth. There is not a ray of light. If it is true it is true all the way: They should probably have shown that during those same periods there were in the ranks of that same party many honest and highly moral people who lived, worked, fought, and died. They did their work no matter what happened. Probably in the end everything we have—I

am speaking about the beginning of a moral and spiritual renewal of our society—did not appear out of a void, but was prepared for by the efforts and sacrifices of the best sons of the party and the people. All this is not shown with sufficient convincingness to the simple person. Hence one gets the idea that the party did only things to destroy people and suffocate the economy.

If one is to speak about mistakes and omissions—why the party, is the party all there is? For we are now speaking about the "simple" communist. This means that it presupposes the existence of "nonsimple," "special" and "higher" people. This already implies breakdown and disintegration. The wider this crack, the greater the danger of crisis. And yet we live in a common home.

Moderator: Taking advantage of this clear image, I would say that many are attached to this home only by a "permit," a "stamp in a passport." That is the problem. Morning comes and everyone goes about his own business, some on foot, some on the trolley, some in their private cars, and man forgets about his belonging to the home, in this case to the party. It turns out that we are carrying out our duties not at home, but somewhere outside it. The reason why in terms of activity and initiative the party organizations frequently lose out to new social and political movements is that people do not enter them for the sake of a "permit" but see in them a possibility of realizing their convictions and manifesting themselves as individuals and demonstrating their civic and social potential. Can we say the same thing about those party workers whose activity does not go beyond attending meetings and paying dues? Can they win in political discussions or one-on-one contests?

Councils of Secretaries Are Operating

S. Gerasimchuk: Well, that all depends. For a very great deal depends on the electoral organs and the leaders of the local party organizations. A debate has developed here around the "horizontal structure." I wish to say or, rather, remind you that they cannot be reduced simply to party clubs. In Leninskiy Rayon, for example, we have formed a council of secretaries of party organizations, and it is operating fairly successfully. We have been convinced from our own experience that this form of work is possible and useful.

How did this council appear? You know that in Moscow a special program was adopted for the construction of the metro. Under this five-year plan we shall have to put 45 km into operation. To be honest, this decision was adopted, as is frequently the case here, arbitrarily, without taking the collective's capabilities into account. But nonetheless we must carry out the decree. But how? In the party committee of the metro builders they got the idea of entering into close, permanent contact with all other collectives that have been put into operation in connection with the government decree. That is how the council was formed, and it helped to include, for example, the party committees of all the ministries and departments having anything to do with the problem, and you yourselves can understand that this means many with the current state of affairs.

But, of course, all this does not mean that we have mobilized all the communists.

V. Travin: It is a difficult thing but I would not say that it is hopeless, and this is very important. True, I myself have only been among the secretaries at Svetlana for a little more than a year but during this year so many events have occurred that you automatically begin to feel like a veteran. Now about the "entire mass." A year ago we held a report and election conference. It was fully in keeping with instructions that are in effect. Did this impede the freedom of choice or the expression of the will of the communists? No. Why? Because in fact the elections were only a reinforcement of the result that was predetermined by the entire preceding course of the campaign. For a month and a half in all the shop—and we have more than 100 of them—party organizations there was heated discussion: Who should be nominated for the party committee, whom would we like to see as its secretary? All the pros and cons were also reflected in our newspaper and on radio programs and in the materials of the information center. One can boldly say that not only communists but also nonparty members, who reacted vigorously to various proposals and candidacies, participated in the elections of the party committee. That was actually when public opinion was formed regarding the optimal composition of the party committee. True, the participants added three more candidates and they were introduced, thus increasing the size of the group, but the work was done.

Now about the lower-level cadres. Of course it is difficult for them to work alone. But here we are also helped by the horizontal structures. All the secretaries of the shop organizations are our permanent conference. It has operated previously as well but traditionally its work has amounted to informing people about decisions adopted "above." During the course of a year we were able to transform this conference into an organ which, although it is not official, it operates efficiently, thinks, and generates decisions. From it there is a direct link to communists and the entire collective. Thus through common efforts many problems affecting the interests of the collective have been solved.

Here is another structure. The Leningrad association of state enterprises was created in the spring of last year. At first it included eight of the largest enterprises of the city and now there are 26. This is the cream of the Leningrad working class. Then after the main organizational and economic issues were resolved, we created a council of secretaries of party committees of the association. In its purview are a number of questions of a social and also of a political nature which we can resolve together. For example, the current election campaign. Can much be done alone here? Well, all right, Svetlana has an immense collective of more than 10,000 workers but we all live in different areas of the city. We would not have

enough influence if we were not helped by our colleagues whose enterprises are located in these places. The council of secretaries is developing a unified position from which our communists are going to the elections. Of course all this has not escaped the attention of the workers of the obkom [oblast party committee] who have joined in the common cause. They have joined in not as observers or spies, but on an equal basis without any antagonism.

What Do the Cadres Decide?

S. Grasimchuk: All this is fine but it does not seem that it does anything to remove the problem of party cadres. Perestroyka has quickly revealed that many of those who have become accustomed to working under the conditions of uniform thinking and universal agreement cannot be leaders of the masses in the new situation and they are incapable of advancing nonstandard ideas and instilling them in the people. In my opinion the crisis in the party is linked primarily to the quality of party cadres.

I, for instance, completed the higher party school in my day. What did I learn there? It was necessary to know which volume of Marx, Engels, or Lenin contained one truth or another and how it related to the points in the regular report of one party political activist or another. This kind of baggage does little for squabbles in a discussion or for a heated polemic in an audience that is far from always friendly. Then there was this outdated habit of acting on orders, the fear of one's own opinion, the act.... Do you really not think that this has an affect on the authority of the party as a whole?

Zh. Toshchenko: And how! As a sociologist I could confirm this with figures. According to the data from our research, one of the main complaints among the masses against our party cadres is the domination of bureaucracy. It is interesting that this opinion is shared by almost half of those questioned even among the party workers and the elected aktiv themselves. Even the alternative elections that have been conducted recently at plenums of party committees (Karelia, Kharkov) are considered by some to be like games of the apparatus (they say that everything is decided ahead of time in the apparatus and this is a previously orchestrated spectacle presented for the people).

The image of the party workers judging from the questionnaires, does not look very impressive either. Thus in one of the questionnaires, among the possible evaluations of the party worker presented for consideration ("a creative person," "thinking," or, on the contrary, an "official," a "bureaucrat," and so forth) the first three places were held by: "Official," "flunky," "squirrel on a treadmill."

And regarding party education I cannot agree with Gerasimchuk although I myself belong to the corresponding educational institution. I have known many graduates of the Academy of Social Sciences who, having squeezed through a course in sciences, started demanding high positions. They received them. Although from the very beginning it was clear that the person just happened to end up in party work by chance and they sent him to school only because he was getting under somebody's feet somewhere. Well, what can one say that is good about such an "activist?"

A. Nemtinov: Let us not show false modesty: Perestroyka has brought forth many brilliant leaders from among the party members of the capital. It is bad that, according to the results of the preceding report and election campaign only some of them entered the aktiv of the election organs. Here the stereotype of the years of stagnation had its affect—sort out the "convenient" and "safe" people. But the passivity is also explained by other factors. The fact is that, alas, the entire party structure from the past has been based on a strict transfer of command "from above to below" and very little is adapted for the expression of the will of the masses or work "from below to above." Hence the current paradox: An unchained society and no liberation in the party.

But look at who is in charge of many informal movements and independent organizations in the city. As a rule they are people with strong wills and intelligence and great social dedication. Many of them, incidentally, are communists. But they have not found their place in party life. Because the excessively rigid structure of the CPSU, its excessive organization, and its "reverence for rank" are unattractive. It is difficult for a nonstandard individual to find a place within this framework. Yet the party was especially strong when it recruited the best forces of the society.

Moderator: Well, all right, we have pointed out the sore spots. Let us try now to think about the "means of treatment," about how to right the party ship.

V. Legostayev: Let us try. But when Comrade Lysenko spoke I had a question for him that is directly related to this subject. I think it arises for many people at some time. The "democratic platform" gives an ultimatum to hold direct elections to the congress, which contradicts the CPSU regulations. I have nothing against this variant but here is the question: Why must democracy begin with a lack of respect for the existing rules and documents? Who except for the congress itself currently has the right to change the regulations that regulate the right to hold elections to the congress and the procedure for holding them? Nobody. In this case are we not violating democracy for the sake of democracy?

Can One Violate the Regulations?

V. Lysenko: Then one ends up with a closed circle. If we hold a congress according to the old system it might turn out that its mainly conservative members will make changes in the regulations which will do nothing and will fully discredit the party. Therefore, I think that the Central Committee in this case should take full responsibility and invalidate Paragraph 44 of the regulations, declaring at the same time that this question will be especially considered at the party congress and that the

Central Committee is prepared to answer to the party for the actions it has taken. There is also the variant of conducting a referendum in the party.

But we are not always so strict about principles and observing the letter of the law. We can recall a quite recent precedent. Suddenly there appeared the Russian bureau of the CPSU Central Committee which was never mentioned in the regulations. In this case the polls show that no less than 90 percent of the communists are in favor of direct elections to the 28th Congress. So should we ignore their opinion?

Moderator: But why are we proceeding ahead of time from the notion that, under conditions when alternative elections in party committees are no longer the exception but the rule, the congress with the existing principle of selectivity will necessarily be formed from conservative forces? To be honest, I am not altogether convinced of this.

V. Shostakovskiy: This is not merely a matter of which forces—conservative or nonconservative—will prevail at the congress. It is a matter of confidence. The rank-and-file communist who, as before, has no rights in his organization would like to participate in the process itself. It is not a matter of indifference to him how this process occurs, whether or not he can say anything or give an order, or whether his voice will be heard. The drama of the situation lies in the fact that if we continue as usual to ignore these voices and hold a congress selected by the customary multistage method, it cannot be ruled out that the next congress might not take place at all. We must look at this openly and honestly.

V. Legostayev: I repeat that I am not saying that the current procedure is ideal. Moreover, I am convinced that it will be changed. But we understand quite well that no other party organ except for the congress has the authority to abolish or change the regulations. This means that in order to do what has been suggested we shall have to resort to a very gross and fundamental violation of party law. After all, the question of electing delegates to congresses is question number one at all times. This is a question of party discipline. If we violate the regulations once for the good of the cause we shall violate them again—also for the good of the cause, and where will we be then?

L. Onikov: I would say this. If we take a Philistine approach to this then of course we must not violate the regulations this way. But if we take a revolutionary approach (and, after all, we are going through a revolutionary period) we cannot get by without this. But, of course, this must be done by democratic methods and not in a Stalinist way. Let us recall history: Under Lenin a change was made in the regulations in connection with the creation of a control organ independent of the Central Committee. It was introduced not by the congress as it should have been but by a conference. Because the situation demanded it.

A. Nikolayev: But does it not seem to you that we are banging our heads against procedural issues and not getting beyond that? We are not saying much about the content of the forthcoming work. We have many theoretical dreams, and that is good, but it would not hurt to test them out in practice. Remember the unseemly situation with the elections of the first secretary in Karelia (PRAVDA wrote about this). It was caused, in my view, by the necessity of an alternative. And since the alternative was created artificially, "for the sake of democracy," all the so-called contenders backed down. An alternative is good when it arises naturally, when a number of leaders with equal qualifications are competing. Therefore it does not seem to me that we should stick to form with all our might. If there can be an election, even the existing regulations should not stand in its way. In our rayon the rayon committee, for example, was formed at the plenum itself but it was exclusively on the basis of the suggestions of local party organizations. Not a single apparatchik entered a single name. So what is keeping us from electing congress delegates this way?

V. Travin: Well since, in spite of criticism, the issue has come down to procedures once again, I wish to talk about dates. I know that the majority of Leningrad party organizations are inclined to think that the 28th CPSU Congress should be held in May. We also have this viewpoint: It should be conducted in two stages. At the first they could discuss the drafts of basic documents and then the congress could be closed and the party masses could be included in the discussion. In the second stage final decisions could be made on all issues, taking public opinion into account.

Response: A very good idea.

V. Travin: Then our procedural issue would be resolved without violating the regulations. In the first stage we would elect the delegates to the congress according to the existing procedure. Taking advantage of its authority, the congress would change the procedure in the regulations for nominating and electing delegates, making it correspond to the spirit of the times. Then why not elect them in the second stage according to platforms, as participants in party clubs are insisting?

A. Nemtinov: Muscovites are also in favor of moving up the dates of the congress. But from the very beginning the elections should be direct, secret, and competitive, and two to three months before the congress the delegates should be able actually to participate in its preparations. This is the firm position of the majority of communists in the capital. It has been confirmed by a number of rayon referendums.

On the "Means of Treatment"

Moderator: I do not think we have gotten very far away from the question that was raised about the "means of treatment," since even the procedural issues raised here lie in this sphere. But let us look at this same problem from another side, from the standpoint of the party's

moral authority. Does it have the strength to overcome a certain shadow that has been cast over it? While mercilessly revealing everything negative in our history and casting off ideological stereotypes in the name of radical renewal of the party, are we not at the same time creating additional difficulties

L. Onikov: No matter how hard we try, we shall never escape our past. Without looking back on the past we shall not be able to understand our present and what is awaiting us tomorrow. They say they are taking the power away from the party. Nothing of the kind, on the contrary, they are trying to return to it the power that Stalin took from the working masses when he turned it over to executive party organs and their apparatus. Now you hear confused voices from various sides: What will the party organs do now? What do they mean? They will draw up the political program for the development of our society and they must do everything necessary to make sure that the Soviet person feels that he is the master of his destiny in this society, the master in the places where he works, serves, and studies.... That is, their task is the establishment of socialist self-management of the people. But this requires that we first establish self-management in the party home itself. I would single out several basic directions. First, it is necessary to democratize the acceptance into the party (remember the waiting lines for questionnaires) and provide for control over the quality of the reinforcements. Especially the reinforcements of workers. The second is the embodiment of the Leninist idea: The creation of party control fully independent of the executive organs. The third is to improve glasnost without identifying it with the dissemination of information, and not transforming the latter into propaganda and agitation. The fourth has to do with the elections (a good deal has already been said about this), but we must not, for example, reduce democracy to the absurd and nominate 20-30 candidates for one position. Finally, the fifth is democratic centralism. The person who envisions democracy without centralism, who is essentially in favor of anarchy, and the person who envisions centralism without democracy could arrive at the situation that existed in 1937. The art here lies in a flexible dialectical combination of these two principles.

A. Salutskiy: In my opinion, in all of our discussions we are sidestepping the major issue: In general, what does a call for a radical renewal of the party mean? Does it mean democratization and reconstruction? Or does it mean regeneration? If we are to call things by their real names, in fact our country has now entered a period of a multiparty system. I think this is a good thing. For it has emerged, in my opinion, out of an honest struggle of opinions, as a result of the democratization of society. I do not see anything bad about this. But is it possible to crowd all the colossal differences of opinion we have here into a single party platform? Members of the same party are finding complete incompatibility of views everywhere. How can this be? Very simply: The party, in my opinion, needs to legalize this situation. That is, it should divide up calmly, with mutual respect, and in a truly democratic way.

It is time actually to stop tormenting the CPSU. Article 6, of course, should be taken out of the Constitution, and along with this article, in my opinion, the people who do not agree with its basic ideas should leave the CPSU. Everything will be put back in its place. There will be no need to battle behind the scenes. For this could lead to terrible complications and shakeups.

For instance, at one meeting USSR People's Deputy Alekseyev speaks and says that he is essentially a social democrat. Thank God. I have only respect for a person who will get up and state what he believes. But perhaps these comrades and those who think like them should separate out and create their own party. This would only improve the situation, make the political struggle legal, and help the broad masses of communists and nonparty members figure out who is who.

I am following the activity of the Moscow party club with a great deal of attention. One is sympathetic to its platform because of its consistency and clarity. But confusion arises: Why are its demands, which amount to removing the CPSU from power even more, heard from within the CPSU? Comrades Lysenko, Afanasyev, and Popov should create their own party and criticize the CPSU from outside. This would be quite normal, and it is being done throughout the democratic world.

But the attempt to tear the CPSU apart from within—this is the most dangerous thing and promises terrible repercussions for our country and all our people. If the 28th Congress follows the "Hungarian" or "Polish" trajectory, the Communist Party of Russia, which, I am convinced, will be created in any case, can select a different path.

The Integrating Factor

V. Shostakovskiy: But perhaps a real separation has existed up to now on a different plane. It was on the plane on which the party was divided into "simple" and "special," the "internal" party, where all the apparatus structures were concentrated, and the "external" one, which included the remaining 19 million who were assigned the role of extras. So whom was the party serving? The people or those same structures that established the power of the minority and the system of strict subordination? The problem is that by beginning perestroyka and initiating democratic transformations in the society we have changed little in the party itself. Hence the crisis.

Then why would it be so bad if we had both platforms and factions in the party? What is this but a sign of a living political organization? Or perhaps our party would not survive under such conditions or would not operate effectively enough?

I am convinced that we must all work within the party on behalf of its renewal and not take the matter to the point of a split. After all, the "separation" that is being suggested here would mean splitting into splinters. This is indeed terrible.

V. Legostayev: First of all I would like to respond to my colleague Leon Arshakovich Onikov. It is clever, of course, what he said about the "Philistine" and "revolutionary" approaches, but still it was the Stalinism that we are criticizing today that justified its actions by the "revolutionary necessity." So this is a matter of principle. But let us say that in the elections to the congress we deviate from the regulations and then some time later people can say to us, for example, that the congress was trumped up. How shall we respond to them? Let us recall that the well-known split in Russian social democracy at the second congress occurred because of one paragraph of the regulations. There are your "procedural trivia" for you.

In my view the main source of all our problems lies in the neglected condition of ideology. It has been neglected since the time the party started to plant, mow, harvest, and raise hogs and take responsibility for all that. We lost our goals, we lost our strategy and our points of reference, and we ultimately became trouble shooters. And now? Just because we are always looking for our mistakes, spreading ashes on our heads, and repenting, do you think that will make them respect us more? This is an illusion. I would support Salutskiy in that we need to define ourselves, find a place for the party, and reveal who is who.

But at the same time we cannot but take this peculiarity into account: Our party is a factor that integrates the country, its main interethnic force and structure, the unified political language of a great people. If we break the party apart our union will be left without a unified ideology, without a unified language. I cannot conceive of federalizing the party. It simply cannot exist if it is divided into pieces in each republic. This is already obvious today. We have also had a certain amount of historical experience with a multiparty system. Why are we forgetting it?

V. Lysenko: But is this not nostalgia for the past? We think the CPSU should not give up its power, but its monopoly on power. It itself must be the initiator of the adoption of a law on political parties which would guarantee their equal rights.

We say that the party is called upon to be the vanguard. But who will decide whether it is the vanguard or not? I think the only measure of this is the people; they must come to the ballot boxes and cast their votes for various political forces.

L. Onikov: We frequently use the word "crisis" in regard to the party here. It sounds so alarming and hopeless. This is a Greek word which means "transition," a difficult, painful change from one condition to another. But it also means a breakthrough and the beginning of improvement. I personally hope that the party will endure and that this crisis will definitely lead to its revolutionary renewal.

FROM THE EDITORS: Let us note at the outset: Far from everything that was discussed at the roundtable here was reflected in the newspaper. Some subjects, proposals, and assessments were merely mentioned. Certain interesting judgments of the participants in the discussion were not included in this text because of the limited space and will be used in one form or another in subsequent issues of "DL [Discussion Pamphlet No 6]." We hope that the readers will continue the discussion of party renewal. The more so since the pre-congress platform which will be advanced by the February Plenum of CPSU Central Committee will serve as a powerful impetus.

We await your letters, Comrades.

Regional Affairs

Estonian Supreme Soviet Agenda for 23 Feb

LD2302102190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] A session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet opens in Tallinn today. Deputies are to discuss the question of changing Articles 6 and 7 of the Estonian SSR's Constitution, a draft law of the Estonian SSR on protection of Estonia's environment, and a draft law of the Estonian SSR on statistics, as well as a number of other important documents. Deputies are to confirm mayors of republican cities and to examine a number of other questions of public, political, and economic life in Estonia.

Estonia's Titma on 'Crisis' of Perestroyka

90UN0847 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by M. Titma, secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of Estonia: "Lessons of Perestroyka"]

[Text] A crisis—that is how I would define the condition of perestroyka in the country today. The crisis is so obvious that not much proof of its existence is needed and one can limit oneself merely to listing certain signs of the disastrous situation: Inflation and a further decline of the standard of living. The economy has clearly not been given a new mechanism. Social segregation is taking place in the country—both on the plane of social strata, and on the plane of ethnic groups. The political polarization of society is continuing: We have forces on the left wing, the right wing, and the center, we have reasonable groupings and we have extremists. Finally, the prestige of authorities is declining—from the top people in the state to the local leaders. These are perhaps the main clear signs of a crisis, which quite naturally generates in the public consciousness the question of the level of effectiveness of the leadership and its ability to control the processes taking place in the country as a whole and in the specific republic or oblast.

It is time to think: What is the reason for the crisis? For everyone today is in favor of perestroyka with their minds and hearts. Even those who, with or without

justification, are called conservatives and Stalinists understand that it is impossible for us to live as we have lived up to this point. Five years of perestroyka is long enough for the people and for the political activists and for the scholar to try to clarify today what the perestroyka process really consists of and how it is proceeding.... Such a sober, evaluative look is needed now in order to earmark paths of further development.

Which path shall we take? This question has been asked and discussed in recent years in all regions of the country without exception. In the Baltic area, particularly in Estonia, it has been transformed into a problem: Will the future of Estonia be as a part of the USSR or outside it? Should it be a sovereign republic or a division? Is it possible to rectify things while remaining in the union or should they try to do this alone, independently?

In other regions of the country as well the question of the future has evoked reflections and arguments about socialism, its capabilities, and the future. As a result we have approached fundamental issues of the structure of social life and the need for structural changes. We have come, for example, to the problem of ownership—and now we are preparing a draft law on ownership and there is turbulent discussion about it. In other words, thinking people everywhere have raised radical problems of development and determined the degree of their importance and the sequence for solving them. Moreover, all these years there has been an intensive search for allies—those who are in favor of perestroyka and those who are against it.

Thus for the past five years we have lived in thoughts, arguments, and battle. Somehow we have forgotten that even with such a decisive break in former obsolete social relations on behalf of a brighter future, people must live like human beings even today. But the real, concrete problems of today have not been solved—all of our attention has been devoted to radical problems. And there has been dissatisfaction with perestroyka that threatens to cause a crisis.

At first glance this is a matter of our resources—soap, laundry detergent, fuel, or other concrete goods or, more precisely, the shortage of them. But in fact the question must be put differently: How do we replace in the local area that the command system has supported life up to this point? How do we live now that we have begun to tear down this system? So far we have created for the groups that are supposed to arrange for life in the local areas—the local soviets, their ispolkoms [executive committees] and other organs—a situation in which they feel no responsibility.

The elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet clearly showed the local authorities that in the near future the people would be determining their suitability for one leadership position or another. Under the conditions of the great politicization the person who has a chance to occupy the chair of the chairman of the gorispolkom [city executive committee] or the secretary of the raykom [rayon party committee] is the person who participates actively in the political struggle where the subjects of discussion are questions of republic economic accountability, relations with Moscow, the level of sovereignty, and so forth, and by no means the one who repairs the leaking roof or the central heating and sewage pipes. So a situation has been created in which providing for the elementary needs of the population and good organization of economic life—which, actually, are their primary responsibilities—are becoming secondary matters for the local authorities. This is a new problem, a "perestroyka" problem, and it directly affects the stability of social life. Where is the solution? When considering problems of further economic development we must not build new castles in the air. Under the conditions of a real economy—such as the one we have now—we must make a change to new economic relations. With the same resources we have now, using them efficiently, trying in the local areas to provide the people with everything they need for their lives. Incidentally, there is just as much of that laundry detergent in the republic today as there was before when it could be bought freely at any store, which means this is a matter of distribution, protection of the domestic market, and other measures which the local authorities are supposed to carry out.

Take the Estonian village. Its future most likely lies with the small hamlet form of management. Of course, not the kind we had 500 years ago but a qualitatively different, specialized kind, with extensively developed cooperation and associations of producers. But the Estonian peasants understand well that it is possible to change over to this only gradually, taking advantage of all the possibilities of large-scale management that were created previously.

So the first lesson of perestroyka: Today we must understand well that a radical break in modern society must not be accompanied by destruction and more and more problems. The path here is different—gradual restructuring of economic relations, reasonable utilization of the existing potential, and accounting for the real possibilities.

The second lesson is banal. It is not difficult to gain enemies; it is much more difficult to acquire friends. Indeed, the perestroyka forces need allies. Moreover, in order to determine the policy it is necessary to have a concrete social base, and its creation requires a large amount of painstaking work, the beginning of which is a clear statement of political goals. This is what, it seems to me, we did not recognize in time. There have been appeals to the working class and the inteligentsia, but they were abstract and good in the first stage of perestroyka. But it is impossible to create a social base for perestroyka with slogans alone. It is necessary to account for the interests of particular social forces; only this can create a sufficient shift of forces in favor of the perestroyka policy. This is what we see today as our most vulnerable spot: In general it seems that everyone is for it but not many are willing to bear the hardships of

perestroyka and to fight against the forces and circumstances that impede this process.

What can the social base of perestroyka be today? I would call certain groups of the intelligentsia the vanguard: They have gained more than others from perestroyka. The working class: Here last summer there were clear contradictions between certain segments of the workers and the society as a whole. The miners' strikes were a sign of a large problem; they showed that perestroyka had done nothing for some of the workers and yet their lives had been most affected by inflation, the meager stocks in the consumer market, and the actual decline of the standard of living. These workers showed that they were a powerful force and demanded that the society pay more attention to their needs, and this means redistribution of the social product, part of which must be taken away from other social strata. For with our poverty there is no other solution.

The second cross section of the social division of our society is undoubtedly national. The process of national awakening which has begun in the country has made the leadership face a dilemma: Either the nations, including the Russians, will become a real perestroyka force or, with the attempts from the center to hold back the rates of national awakening, a conflict will arise between the central authority and the nation. At the same time we shall not forget that in the local areas—in the Baltic republics and in other areas as well—the central authority is frequently identified with the Russian people. This is wrong but public opinion will not change all at once and as a result a new axis of tension is created and the nations become disenchanted with perestroyka and destabilize the perestroyka process as a whole. We recognize that this process is taking place in Estonia today as well. It is difficult for Estonians to forget the flagrant historical injustice: Estonia lost her independence as a result of being incorporated into the USSR during the forties by the Stalinist leadership. Only real sovereignty within the framework of the union can make the Estonians allies of perestroyka. But, unfortunately, immense boulders lie along this path....

There is also a process of awakening of the Russian nation. It could become a very strong champion of perestroyka, a solid social base for it if it finally acquires an equal status with other republics in the union and its false position created in the former pseudodemocratic union is finally abolished, whereby it was assumed that the union was mainly Russia, that the Soviet people were the Russian people, and so forth. But the Russian people no longer want this position and are placing themselves side by side with other nations of the union and not above them, and they are striving to become a truly developed modern nation. Only this path—the path of self-improvement—will make any nation a force working for perestroyka.

Finally, a couple of words about the opponents of perestroyka. A large number of them have emerged here: Through the efforts of certain greenhorn politicians entire population groups, branches, and social institutions are included among them. What turns them into opponents?

Take, for example, the party apparatus as the most sensitive to the slightest changes in the society. So the apparatus allowed the leaders to start perestroyka in the country and this means that it contributed to it—this is a fact. But during the course of perestroyka the apparatus should lose the main thing it has—power. Here a large problem arises. How do we solve it? There is no doubt that a large part of the apparatus, especially the new apparatus, understands that by having a monopoly on power in the society, the apparatus dooms both itself and the rest of the country to further stagnation. The solution apparently is to give the apparatus, which has ended up in a difficult position, socially guaranteed ways of getting out of it, and the same should be true for all strata and institutions which must forfeit their positions in the political system of the society or at least share it with others. Unless such a solution is found all the aforementioned social subjects who have lost during perestroyka will fight to the end and firmly take their places among the ranks of its opponents.

It is this problem, transformed under local conditions, that is now increasing the tension in relations between Estonians and non-Estonians in Estonia. Non-Estonians understand that they have come to Estonian land and Estonians are undoubtedly right in considering this land to be their homeland and themselves to be the masters of this land. But they also understand that there must also be some way out of this situation for those who, whether they like it or not, have linked their destiny to Estonia. Some Estonians suggest creating a northwestern national okrug in the republic. But, predictably, this solution is perceived by the Estonians as colonization: Only the second generation of people who have migrated to Estonia wish to acquire the territorial rights of indigenous residents and it is difficult to call this anything other than "colonization."

It is another matter in this situation for the Estonians themselves to offer the people living on their land a way out of the situation. Some of the people who come here understand that on Estonian land where Estonians are the masters they will always be a minority and are prepared to become Estlanders [estonozemeltsy]. Others are clearly not ready for this and they must first of all give a guarantee that people's civil rights will not be encroached upon even if they do not accept Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] citizenship. This is the only way it will be possible to ease the existing tension.

In other words, for social forces to support perestroyka they must have clear prospects: What they can expect after a half year, a year, two years, five years, 20.... A bright future should also be offered to those social groups who lose their privileges during the course of perestroyka—including the apparatus who for decades have produced nothing but have consumed an immense share of the social product. But until they know this they will

not stop resisting and fighting against the renter and the farmer and, in the meantime, everything else perestroyka promises society.

The third lesson of perestroyka is the one-sidedness of the democratization of the society. We understand it primarily as glasnost, and glasnost has created immense possibilities for our development and has enabled us to see who we actually are. That is, there has been a self-recognition of the society. But glasnost has also generated political pluralism which soon reached the level of social movements and here democratization misfired for the first time: Conflicts broke out between the local leadership, which by that time had become an impediment to perestroyka in many places, and the social movements. The leadership, mainly in the republic party organizations, changed and began to operate under the conditions of a political crisis in which it was incredibly difficult to restore party authority. Now this crisis is coming to a head in the country as a whole for political pluralism and politicization, which are covering more and more social strata and groups, have clearly marked their target—Article 6 of the Constitution.

The problem was not raised at the Congress of People's Deputies. But if the country's leadership does not take charge of resolving it, it will be done in the elections to local and republic soviets of people's deputies. The problem will be resolved simply: A majority of votes "against" will be cast, with rare exceptions, for all party leaders, above all those who are a part of the apparatus. They will be removed not because they are Ivanov, Petrov, or Titma, but because the party they represent does not want to forego its monopoly on power.

Having proclaimed political pluralism as their goal, they must not leave Article 6 in the Constitution and thus bring all party personnel under attack in the elections, regardless of their personal qualities.

Here we have approached a problem which has not been given enough attention under the conditions of perestroyka. That is the demonopolization of our life. The command system worked efficiently: Any function in the society was monopolized, institutionalized, and thus we created a monster which we cannot dismantle. But, having begun to dismantle the solid administrative-command system, we forgot about the monopolies which threaten to destabilize our life even with new economic relations.

We have no soap, laundry detergent, or many other elementary things precisely because the monopoly on their production, the establishment of prices, and distribution remain as they were to this day. Monopolies, both here and in the West, always take advantage of their own position to the detriment of the society. Trying to persuade them not to do this will not change the situation. The solution lies in demonopolization of all spheres of social life and in the creation of a multiplicity—of producers, consumers, social movements, and so forth. Only within the framework of this multiplicity are normal relations in the society possible.

One of the manifestations of monopolization is undoubtedly centralization—both at the level of the country as a whole and at the level of the republic, oblast, rayon, or kolkhoz. Centralism is the scourge which everyone sees and against which everyone is fighting. But it is relinquishing its positions slowly and with difficulty.

For example, Estonia is fighting against union centralism and all Estonians without exception are convinced of the destructiveness of excessive influence on the republic from the center and are actively engaged in the battle against this. At the same time it is even more difficult to overcome centralism inside Estonia, that is, say, Tallinn's dictatorship over the republic: Here Estonians are not so unified in their protest against centralism as an undesirable phenomenon. The republic leadership will have to turn over to the local authorities the power, the resources, and the real authority, and this is a very painful process for Moscow and for Tallinn and for the region.

It is impossible to carry out decentralization with slogans alone. There must be concrete actions. One of the most necessary actions is depoliticization of issues of a different nature—mainly economic ones. What kind of decentralization can there be when the rural soviet has no real power and is essentially a sham, for real power in the local areas up to this point means that the kolkhoz [collective farm] chairman or the rural soviet receives money for office supplies from the rayon authorities? Can this be power—without a budget, resources, or real legal authority?

Here I shall permit myself to recall this fact: Last year they inserted into the USSR Constitution a line which causes confusion, to put it mildly: The USSR Congress of People's Deputies can consider any question. But this is lawlessness at the level of the feudal society for in any modern law-governed state there are issues which must be considered only by the local authorities at the lowest level and by nobody else, even the head of state.

We have such questions as well: At the level of the village, rayon, and city, and those are the only places where they should be resolved. But the Constitution gives the Congress the right to take away the authority of everyone in connection with any issue. Such a state cannot be called law-governed. This is a remnant of complete centralism, this is our next great failing: In words we fight against centralism but on concrete actions we show ourselves as a super-centralized society and we are afraid to leave to the union organs only those issues that cannot be resolved in the local areas at the level of the village, the rayon, the oblast, or the republic. But only if we decide to do this can we put an end to centralism—one of the most serious obstacles on the path to perestroyka.

The fourth lesson of perestroyka is especially difficult for me as a party worker. The society is rapidly becoming

politicized. During the process of this unrestrained politicization of everything and everyone we have been given examples of false politicization: We adopted a law on labor collectives and thus politicized economic life, which has never happened in a single society with a healthy economy.

The economy has its own laws and must be relatively separate from politics. But we are also beginning to elect executive authorities within the framework of the economic structures, and this means that politicization in the society has been taken to the extreme. Where there is an election one can always find politics—this is axiomatic. But these politics are not economic, they inevitably lead to the political forces operating in the society.

By politicizing economic life we have laid a land mine under our economy which was sick to begin with: We have made all executive power—of directors and other leaders in production—dependent on politics, their freedom of action has been sharply limited, and economically healthy behavior has become impossible. Not only in Estonia but also in other regions of the country we now see a situation in which the labor collectives and their leaders are engaged not in economics but in politics. We have created two associations of labor collectives: The first includes enterprises under union jurisdiction with Russian-speaking collectives and the second includes enterprises under local and republic jurisdiction where most of the workers are Estonians. All this, undoubtedly, does not work to the advantage of the republic economy. The strikes in August were also political in nature.

By politicizing the society, the party itself has ended up in a stagnant framework. We have allowed ourselves to appear before our opponents in the form of social movements, but we did not understand in time that here we must also critically evaluate ourselves under the new conditions in which we remain monopolists only in form.

Let us begin with the fact that in all democratic societies there are no parties whose basic funds were accumulated from its members' dues. As a rule the membership dues are symbolic and most of the money comes from other activity of the party organizations.

Further: Being the ruling party, in practice we are still duplicating the government and the soviets; the party organizational structure duplicates the entire system of soviets and partially the structure of executive power as well. For the ruling party in any other country this phenomenon would be pure nonsense, and it could exist only in the party of the opposition. But we must exercise power through those people who occupy the corresponding posts in the state.

Moscow still determines the party structure and budget for the Communist Party of Estonia and orders about how we should use our funds also come down from there. This makes us practically ineffective, for example, in elections. But today, under the conditions of political pluralism, with competitors in the form of a multitude of social movements each of which has its own proponents, we must finally understand that the main business of the party is still participation in elections and the fight for seats in the republic parliament and in the local soviets. This means we need funds for conducting the preelection campaign and the possibility of disposing of them at our own discretion.

Let us turn once again to the experience of modern democratic societies. It is during election time that one sees the most political activity there. All the rest of the time politics is the business of professionals.

The party must change radically. This process has already begun in the Baltic republics but we are fettered by the structure and the norms that are left over from the time of stagnation. We have transformed the republic party into an oblast organization within the structure of the CPSU. This enables our political opponents to use an old argument in the political campaign: Estonian communists are the "arm of Moscow." Under these conditions it is very difficult to prove that the Communist Party of Estonia is an independent republic party, that it determines its own policy, and that it works on the basis of its own program.

In other words, in order to accelerate perestroyka and make the party a powerful instrument of it, we need a radical restructuring in the party itself: The determination of its new position in the society and the strategy and tactics that make it possible to react sensitively to the changing situation.

The fifth lesson given to us by perestroyka. All the great affairs in society have been carried out with the help of faith. True or false, faith has been sent into battle to work those forces which have operated in the society and have radically changed it.

The people had an immense amount of faith in perestroyka. Now many social communities—from nations to social groups—have begun to lose this faith. This is perhaps the most politically dangerous aspect. Faith in perestroyka today is in critical need of support not with slogans—more than enough of them have been proclaimed—but with concrete deeds, programs, and results. The time has come for us to soberly evaluate the real state of affairs. What resources do we have at our disposal? How can we achieve reasonable concrete results—in a concrete republic or a concrete city or village?

People have no clear idea of how we shall be living tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or next year. Is there an end to the randomness and the uncertainty with which we are living now?

To strengthen faith in perestroyka among the people is perhaps the main task of the party today and the basis of the future of perestroyka. If the party is capable of coping with this difficult task it will demonstrate its capability

of controlling the country and will receive a mandate of confidence from the people.

Week's Events in Estonia Reviewed

PM2202123790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 p1

[Own correspondent Galina Sapozhnikova dispatch: "Chronicle of Week's Events"]

[Text] Tallinn—The most serious, significant event was the Estonian Communist Party conference held in Tallinn last weekend. It was assumed that it would take on all the heat of the precongress discussion and decide, once and for all, the question of whether the Estonian Communist Party is to be completely independent or simply renewed while remaining part of the CPSU. Various options are possible: The formation, for example, of two parallel parties with communist orientation—the conference discussed two alternative programs for the renewal of the Estonian Communist Party, which meant that two groups supporting the different progams emerged. Unlike the Lithuanian Communist Party, for example, which has broken away, the Estonian Communist Party is low on popularity. Particularly since well-known political leaders have handed in their party membership cards: USSR people's deputies like Maryu Lauristin, for example. However, this does not conflict with the resolution adopted at the conference: "...To guarantee the Estonian Communist Party's competence by safeguarding the right of every communist to free expression." In these conditions the courage of the president, head of government, and first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who have been nominated as candidates to the republic's Supreme Soviet as representatives of the Communist Party, must be estimated at its true worth.

The Estonian Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] has been winding down in the last few days. The last (in the literal sense of the word) Komsomol congress decreed that Komsomol property is to be inherited by the new youth organizations, its legal successors. A characteristic feature is that the idea of demarcation on the basis of political affiliation (which, alas, still coincides with nationality) is now viewed perfectly calmly, as a matter of course. Indeed, is there any point in artificially maintaining the semblance of unity if it has long since ceased to exist? The Estonian Communist Youth League, which mainly consists of Russian-speaking young people, has come forward as the first contender for filling the post of legal successor to the Estonian Komsomol. It has held a republic-level conference, adopted a new Statute and Program, and elected delegates to the Komsomol congress. But, most important of all, it has declared itself to be the reorganizer rather than the liquidator of the Estonian Komsomol and so has decided to use the old, familiar name: The Estonian Lenin Communist Youth League. This has caused some confusion among the present secretariat of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. (Did you see the two first secretaries of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee shaking hands?) Does this mean dual power? Not quite. The newly elected first secretary, Nikolay Gogulan, will only assume the secretaryship on 2 March, when the old Estonian Komsomol has ceased to function.

Friday saw the constituent conference of the Estonian Youth League, which proposes to unite Estonian young people. It must be said that there is far more peace and harmony among young people than in big politics.

Evidently the Estonian youth newspaper NOORTE HAAL (Voice of Youth) foresaw this organizational confusion and acted wisely, declaring itself to be the general political daily PYAEVALEKHT [as transliterated] and removing from its masthead the line "Organ of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee." This decision was given official written approval by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat, without the knowledge or the consent of its direct founder, the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. Consequently, the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Plenum condemned the action of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee (which is in itself unprecedented!) and voiced concern in connection with the fact that the newspaper PYAEVALEKHT is now not obliged to publish material on Komsomol subjects. But the newspaper's keen young editor, Margus Mets, believes that journalism is not simply a channel for the dissemination of information and that their action is real journalist democracy. It is just a pity that, in their righteous desire to annoy the disintegrating Estonian Komsomol, the colleagues failed to take into account the fact that the revenue from their publication (alas...) does nevertheless go into the party coffers rather than those of the Komsomol. In order to prevent similar incidents (in particular, possible "desertion" by the republic's second youth newspaper, MOLODEZH ESTONII), the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum instructed the secretariat to set up a working group to draw up a draft law on the youth press.

Here are some results of a survey conducted by sociologists at the "Maynor" firm. Only 20 percent of non-Estonians agree with Estonia's present position in the USSR. The option of a sovereign republic within the USSR (a confederation) suits 15 percent of Estonians and 52 percent of non-Estonians. A total of 81 percent of Estonians and 17 percent of non-Estonians think about a completely independent Estonian state.

Is there any point, after such revealing figures, to talk about the problems that still concern the people of Estonia today? Why not? Here are the results of a survey conducted by the Information Center of Journalism: 50 percent of Estonians and 81 percent of non-Estonians are concerned about their own health or the state of health of their families; 24 percent and 36 percent respectively are concerned about alcoholism in their friends or a member of their family. The impossibility of having separate living space, fear of becoming the victim of crime, and a shortage of money for bringing up their children are

sources of concern for virtually everyone. The problems of lack of provision in their old age, personnel cuts, unemployment, and the fear of becoming infected with AIDS are more feared by the non-Estonian population. Estonians are more worried about the situation in their own republic, while non-Estonians are more worried about the situation in the USSR as a whole and the future of mankind.

Sociologists did not question people about their attitude to the past, but you would have thought that this is a subject of interest to everyone. Take the following, for example: The bronze statue of Stalin, which used to stand in the square by the Baltic Railroad Station and was quietly removed in 1956, has been discovered whole and intact in the shed of one of the Tallinn construction and repair administrations' production bases. Recently the place has been visited increasingly frequently by journalists and movie theater personnel, so the statue has been taken outside. There Iosif Vissarionovich lies: Bronze, green, adorned with pigeon droppings, but still perfectly cheerful. Tynu Elme, the administration's chief engineer, told me that right up until 1985 the site was regularly visited by unknown but very official people who came to check that Comrade Stalin was feeling alright in the shed. But no one comes anymore, so the question of what to do with him is being vigorously discussed in the local press. There are several options: Follow the example of the Czechs and put the statue up for sale, put it to some strictly practical use, or recast it back into a statue of Martin Luther, from the material of which it was originally made. But the inspectorate for the protection of historical monuments, on whose books Iosif Vissarionovich is to be found, believes that monuments—like history—must not be refashioned and sold off. Especially not a monument to Stalin. He cost us too dear....

Preparations for Independent Latvian Party

LD2202180190 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0530 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] A conference marking the reconstitution of the independent Communist Party of Latvia will take place next Saturday in the House of Political Education in Riga. The leaders of the organizing committee told representatives of the coordination center in the rayons and cities and the communist deputies about the preparations.

The draft basic principles of action and the provisional rules of the independent Communist Party of Latvia have been worked out and submitted for discussion.

Draft resolutions on relations with the Popular Front of Latvia, on assessments of the Communist Party's past, on the events of 1940 on the repressions of 1945, on the initiators of the Democratic Party of Latvia, and a number of other proposals have been drafted. Five versions of the draft declaration on the future action and further development of the renewed party will be submitted to the delegates at the conference. The coordination centers are encouraging delegations already now to put forward their proposals for the conference about who should lead the renewed Communist Party of Latvia, about the structure of the party, its finances, documentation, symbols, and other aspects of procedure. Lists of delegates are reaching the center which is preparing the conference at the University of Latvia. Registration of the supporters of the idea of an independent Communist Party has already started in many places in order to determine the approximate number of the supporters in the republic before the conference starts.

Supreme Soviet on Conscription Alternatives

PM2202163390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Second Edition p2

[TASS correspondent dispatch: "Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Riga, 16 Feb—Just three of the 19 items on the agenda of the present Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session were discussed on the first day of work. Consequently, today deputies had to concentrate their efforts.

In the morning they began discussing the draft Latvian SSR Law "On Alternative (Labor) Service." Published in advance in the republic newspapers, it has already been broadly debated by the public. According to the draft law, "citizens of the Latvian SSR who, because of their pacifist or religious beliefs, cannot serve in the troops, are obliged to perform alternative (labor) service."

It is planned to set the length of this service at three years—and 18 months for higher education establishment [VUZ] graduates. The alternative service is to take the form of unskilled labor in the municipal economy, public health care service, or social services in the citizen's permanent place of residence. True, the Latvian People's Front has proposed adding ideological considerations as grounds for alternative service....

The draft document has aroused objections with the Baltic Military District Command and the republic's military commissar, which was also discussed at the session. After heated debate, the draft laws on alternative service and on related changes and additions to some of the republic's legislative acts were approved on the first reading.

The following items on the agenda were also connected with Army matters. These were: A draft Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution which limits the range of people enjoying concessions with regard to improving their housing conditions, i.e. people who have worked in the far north and servicemen who have retired or entered the reserve; and corresponding changes to the housing code. The republic's government believes that the regulation of migration processes is being impeded by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers

resolutions (a total of 19), which it is planned to suspend. Concessions are to be preserved only for those who were permanent residents in the Latvian SSR before they were conscripted into military service or took up employment.

The preparation of this decision has prompted a wave of discontent among USSR Armed Forces servicemen and veterans.

Deputies have decided to set up a representative commission involving servicemen in order to find the optimum solutions to the problem on the basis of the wishes of all sides and the principle of social justice.

The session's second day of work has come to an end, but there are still a number of problems unresolved. It has been decided to continue the work of this last session in two weeks, so as not to leave the new Supreme Soviet with this "legacy."

Servicemen Picket Latvian Supreme Soviet Sitting

PM2202123590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "Latvia: Military on Picket Line. Why?"]

[Text] The completed sittings of the session of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet got themselves christened "military" among the people and also in a number of mass media organs.

Clearly the reason for this is that the agenda, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, included a number of questions having a direct or indirect bearing on the activity of the Army and also affecting the lives of its representatives. In particular, the question of the housing of officers discharged into the reserve. It was therefore no surprise to me at all to see an unusually large number of servicemen on the square in front of the Political Education House in Riga on the day the session began. They expressed their attitude to the sociopolitical processes taking place in the republic in a hitherto unusual form—by forming pickets.

As we know, the decision to picket was taken at officers' assemblies at military academies and in a number of units of the Riga Garrison. There were several reasons for this. At the Higher Military-Political College Named for Marshal of the Soviet Union S.S. Biryuzov, for example, 50 percent of the families of officers and warrant officers have not yet been provided with housing. Military sailors and border troops stationed in the republic as well as Armed Forces veterans find themselves in an unenviable position. They have also expressed their anxiety and concern.

It should be said for the sake of objectivity that A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, did talk with officers before the session began. Representatives of the military were given the opportunity to take part in the session and express their attitude to the situation in Latvia.

But it is typical that in the preparation for discussion in parliament of the question "on the partial suspension of the operation on the territory of the Latvian SSR of certain USSR Government decisions on questions of applying housing privileges to persons of certain catagories" (this meant primarily officers and warrant officers discharged into the reserve) no military serviceman was included in the commission. That is to say, all the preliminary conclusions and findings were drawn with no reference to one of the interested parties.

Protest letters were the first reaction. Representatives of 42 military collectives sent telegrams to the session. A whole series of appeals was published in the local press. Not all of them, it should be said, distinguished by restraint or delicacy, and this gave rise to the further heightening of passions in response. "We urge you to show prudence"—was how the appeal of the Union of Veterans of the War, the Armed Forces, and Reserve Servicemen concluded—"Do not exploit the central government's temporary weakness of will and do not provoke it to adopt stern, strong-arm measures to defend the constitutional rights of Soviet people living in the Latvian SSR and to assert the priorities of the country's defense capability."

No final decision "on housing privileges" was taken at today's session sitting. Discussion will continue at the beginning of March, when the session plans to complete its work. A special commission, with servicemen now participating in it, has been set up.

The question of changes to the Law on Elections has also been postponed for the time being. This concerns the voting rights of servicemen.

So it was clearly no accident that members of the military were on the picket line.

Latvian Veterans' Protest to People's Deputies

LD2202172390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Latvian veterans of the revolutionary struggle and of the anti-Hitler war have sent a protest letter to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The 79 people who signed it are demanding that a scientific appraisal be given of the events in 1939 and 1940 and that opponents of perestroyka be exposed. They condemn those forces that have unleashed a struggle against the Communist Party and Soviet power in Latvia. The authors of the letter testify that the people of the republic voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. The legality of elections to the Latvian parliament, which adopted the historic decision of 1940, serves as evidence. Almost 95 percent of the electorate took part in those elections. Members of the parliament received about 98 percent of votes. The letter stresses that units of the Red Army that were located in Latvia did not interfere in the political process. The

veterans have stated that they favor sovereignty for Latvia within the composition of a renewed Soviet federation.

Latvian Communists Urged To Clarify Program

90UN0960B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Correspondent V. Proskura report: "Between Two Stools?"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian People's Front [LPF] has put out a stern statement: "There are over 40,000 communists in the LPF. They must tell people openly and clearly what precisely the LPF program and its aims are... and must put the program above their party."

The front leadership is hereby making it incumbent upon its members to choose whose side they are on in the increasingly complex social situation. The authorities—city and rayon executive committees—are being formed in the republic in a tense struggle between the LPF and the Communist Party. Some "dual accounting" has taken shape in a number of soviets: The list of LPF candidates was victorious, but the majority of deputies are...communists. Whose side is the chairman on, one wonders.

There is an ambiguous "but" here also. Two years ago the LPF was formed as a "front in support of perestroyka." It included many party members. Some communists were elected on its list to the local authorities, others intend to run for the republic Supreme Soviet in the same way. But now—what about this! One or the other.... It is very much like the "command-administrative system," the "democratic centralism" against which the front's founders always heatedly rebelled in words and by which, incidentally, they "tempted" other party members.

The LPF Political Committee has been forced to give additional explanations. No, I. Godmanis, its chairman, said, this is not an ultimatum, we are by no means calling on CPSU members to break organizationally with the party or to leave it. We merely believe that everyone should find his place and make a final choice of political priorities. That is, while working in the organs of power the deputy who is a member of the LPF should abide by the decisions of this faction, not the resolutions of his party organization.

"We are not talking about those who sympathize with or support the front while not being a member of it—these often being raykom [rayon party committee] secretaries, department heads or other officials of the party apparatus," the leader of the LPF's political office specified. But I. Godmanis immediately corrected himself: "However, we are in fact confronting them also with the problem of priority principle...." He also explained the essence of this priority itself: "The main imperative is to create an independent Latvian state."

It has to be said that many outfits and primary party organizations and the Riga and Daugavpils gorkoms [city party committees] have repeatedly adopted resolutions and appealed to their party comrades, leaders particularly, to stop trying to "wear two hats." This was discussed at a special congress of the International Front of Workers of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic also. An unambiguous "hint" has now been made by the other side too—the political organizers of the LPF.

Latvian Nazi Collaborators To Get FRG Pensions

PM2202152990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Feature comprising I. Litvinova Riga dispatch and Ye. Bovkun Bonn dispatch under general heading: "Pensions for Nazi Legionnaires?"]

[Excerpts] Riga—"We repeat the information!", "We repeat the information...!" flashed the headline on the top part of the television screen. Such announcements are made on Latvian television programs in exceptional cases. What was the extraordinary incident this time? A representative of the "Daugavas Vanagi" organization spoke to television viewers, urgently recommending that people who served in the German legion during the war quickly submit their documents so that they can receive a pension. It will be paid, according to the television address, by the FRG authorities.

I received more detailed information about the subsidies and other material assistance to legionnaires from the second issue of the "Yelgavnieks" bulletin of the Latvian National Front Yelgava section. For the sake of accuracy I will quote this document: "All those who served in the German Army, including former legionnaires and others, whose health was ruined as a result of injury or illness contracted in captivity, have the right to receive benefits from the appropriate FRG organs. These benefits take various forms, including dentures and pensions for war invalids, which is very sizable in the FRG. Former Latvian soldiers and invalids from all Western countries been receiving such pensions for a long time."

The newspaper followed up with a message from a consumer service cooperative which was starting to give assistance to former legionnaires. The television program recommended that people send their documents to the FRG General Consulate in Leningrad and wait for a reply.

Veterans of the Great Patriotic War also want to receive a reply. Many of them called the correspondents' office. They are indignant, they cry, they express bewilderment, and they ask to be told whether the information presented by the television and the newspaper is true.

Response From Bonn: Yes, In Principle

Bonn—It is extremely unfair, but the answer is yes, in principle. Although everything is not as simple as it may seem. Let us turn to the letter of the law.

The law on social security adopted in the FRG in 1950, frequently amended and added to, has existed in a new edition since January 1982. It regulates the right to disability pensions for the injuries caused as a result of combat action. This category of people includes those who were wounded and shell-shocked, and those who lost their health in captivity or when interrogated.

Former members of organizations recognized as criminal cannot claim subsidies. Former Gestapo officers, SS men, and convicted Nazis do not receive a pension. [passage omitted]

Let us return to the disability pensions. Do foreigners have a right to claim them?

I put this question to the federal department of social security in Weingarten.

"The seventh and eighth paragraphs of the law on social security provide for such a possibility," Gianni Mohena [surname as transliterated], an employee at the organization told me. "With the consent of the federal ministries of labor and finance the validity of the law may be extended to people who served in the German army during the war in other countries or who were injured in combat action on German territory. For instance, this might be a Russian or Polish worker who was doing forced labor on the farm of a German peasant (one of those who were sentenced to hard labor in Germany—Ye.B.) and who was bombed. They were all liable to mandatory social security contributions during the war.

[Bovkun] Have there been any applications from Latvia?

[Mohena] We do pay pensions to some USSR citizens of German origin. But as far as I am aware, there have been no inquiries from Latvia or from Latvians. I would just like to say that we have one procedure. We check every claim carefully. [Mohena ends]

If a man lost his health on German territory as "an eastern worker" or if he wore a German uniform and was not involved in war crimes, that is one thing. Let him do what he can. But someone who nas the shooting and execution of innocent civilians on his conscience or who is tainted with collaboration with the Nazis could hardly be able to prove his right for social assistance.

I can understand the bewilderment and pain of the Great Patriotic War veterans. But what can you do? The FRG laws really do also give former Latvian legionnaires the official possibility of receiving disability pensions.

Latvia's Ivans Protests Housing Policy

LD2002154290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1343 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Speech by People's Deputy Dainis Ivans at Latvian Supreme Soviet session debate on housing—from live relay]

[Summary] "Just imagine what would be necessary; it would be necessary to build in Latvia a huge barrack, not leaving even a small plot of green land, and to provide an opportunity for all retired officers of the Soviet Union of moving to live here, and such then would be the prospects of our people. I think that for the people who see that they are gradually being drowned in the sea of newcomers, there is no difference, from a standpoint of historical perspective, whether they are annihilated right away in a physical manner or have to wait under torment for the moment they will no longer be upon the earth.

"Already last year when adopting decision no. 46 of the Council of Ministers on discontinuing groundless migration, we expressed anxiety that this decision would not have any special significance, because Latvia will still be the place wither retired army workers of various ranks from the entire Soviet Union will flock, as to the promised land. I do not think that the civilian inhabitants of any small country could feel comfortable, if besides so many permanent army military bases and soldiers' villages there will also be special privileges for pensioned officers coming from other parts, as in the case of Latvia.

"Let us not even talk about some of the retired ones, who, in gratitude for their second homeland and shelter, actively operating today in order to establish organizations, like the Inter Front, hostile to Latvia's independence, to the Latvian people, and to the patriots among other peoples in Latvia.

"It is not they of course, but the absurd policy of the state that is to blame for this. Neither are the people of Latvia to blame for it." The Council of Ministers has taken a small step by stipulating that at least in the future the living conditions will first be improved for those indigenous inhabitants who have lived in hopelessness and cramped conditions for decades, while guaranteeing those Soviet Army soldiers who went to serve from Latvia all rights to return and obtain housing. But Ivans, in his deputy's work, has seen that many of the officers who went to serve from Latvia are living in much more miserable conditions than their colleagues who came here come from other republics after retiring.

Whilst on the whole supporting the draft amendments to the housing code of Latvia, I would like to amend item 17 of Article 24 by inserting the words "to the victims of Stalinist repression" after the words "to invalids, war, and labor veterans." There may also be families with many children among this group who deserve most attention of all. Although a special decision of the Council of Ministers was issued in 1988, the victims of Stalinism have not yet been guaranteed the rights of living as human beings.

I am certain that the living conditions of the former deportees in hovels and communal rooms differ a little from those of the officers in the well-appointed houses of army neighbourhood housing areas. I would like to ask the military commissar, General Duda, whether he has found out how many war invalids and veterans residing

for a long time in Latvia are living "in really bestial and horrible conditions" with no hope for improvement during their lifetime. If Duda does not know this, "we in the People's Front of Latvia could show him, since we have such a register."

I do now know why during peacetime the work of the plowmen, workers, and engineers and the suffering of repressed persons should be regarded below the service of soldiers; the officers should not feel offended if the mentioned privileges are not granted to them.

"But if we talk about the protests heard so much during these days against the draft law, then, in them, in the first place, I see incomprehension and, unfortunately, at times also sneering at the misery of the Latvian people, and request the soldiers, militarists to be aware that it is precisely the privileged migration policy that has led us to a tragic demographic situation.

"It must be stated right away that the draft law under discussion does not possess the slightest nationality compliance, as some, in my opinion, endeavour to interpret, at least indirectly.

"In Riga, where Latvians are in the minority, humane housing conditions are being awaited for, logically, most of all by the non-Latvian inhabitants.

"For example, in the Maskavas Rayon of the city of Riga, which in the history of Latvia has always been expressly like Russia, it is precisely the Russians who from generation to generation are not able to get out out derelict houses, cellars and communal rooms." Very ofen despairing and humiliated Russian mothers have turned to me at the Popular Front and to me as a deputy for personal help on housing. But I, as a deputy, have been powerless to do anything, and, furthermore, I do not know why vigorous military persons are receiving flats earlier than an old woman whose days are probably drawing to a close.

But here the question arises: Knowing that in a just distribution of apartments a common language can be found by Latvia's inhabitants of all nationalities and social strata, whose rights are the armed men getting ready to defend, who desire so much that also in future years their retired colleagues will go precisely to Latvia, and not to Leningrad, Moscow, Ryazan, or to their native parts, and unreasonably receive apartments in Latvia?

"I doubt that they do not know and do not understand that the population density not corresponding to the social situation and the construction capacity of Latvia has already reached an explosive situation, also that the rubber Latvia could burst, also that the local inhabitants should at last be ensured elementary human rights in their only native land, and also that the Latvian people still want, after all, to exist and to live."

Expressing the opinions of thousands of Latvia's inhabitants, confirmed by letters of protests, I want to emphasize that the attempt to boycott the adoption of the correct and the well drawn-up decision for the dramatic situation of housing of Latvia is actually to be regarded as a provocation in order to strain the relations of people and groups of people of Latvia, to return to the past, and to continue the injustices of the previous years.

"Likewise I think that we must today categorically dissociate ourselves from the threats expressed in the protest of an army unit published in LATVIJAS JUANATNE and SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH.

"What shall we, in the end, gain if the right to occupy apartments and other rooms without waiting in the queue, including, by the way, the building of the Society of Latvians, will be defended by the army, as in 1940 with fire implements."

The protest published in newspapers, should by no means be left without being examined by the judiciary, and I still maintain my demand for the Supreme Soviet session to apply to the Baltic Military District procuracy to examine whether the authors of this publication, if found, are not to be punished according to Article 186 of the criminal code of Latvia. "I am almost convinced that this publication is an article created as a result of an intentional or unintentional incitement and disinformation, speculating upon the feelings caused by the far from sweet life of officers and their family members."

This circle dance around the housing code proves the necessity of creating a territorial army unit in Latvia which can really look after its officers and soldiers, and the officers serving in Latvia might become enthusiasts for this idea. The project for demilitarization of Latvia must also be tackled. The government of Latvia should without delay begin talks with the USSR Government on the restoration of independence, and talks with the USSR military authorities on treaty relations with the Soviet Army and on the legal status of the army units and military bases in the territory of Latvia. An equal partners' agreement must be reached on the rights and duties towards one another between the army and the people of Latvia, and Minister of Justice Skudra has already expressed today constructive proposals on this.

Brazauskas Says Lithuania Still Wants Secession

OW2202143190 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1216 GMT 22 Feb 90

[From "NHK News Today" program: Interview with Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas, first secretary of Lithuanian Communist Party and concurrently Supreme Soviet chairman and head of state, by correspondent Kazuo Kobayashi at Supreme Soviet chairman's office in Vilnius; date not given—recorded; interview conducted in Russian with Japanese translation provided in subtitles]

[Text] [Kobayashi] How many seats do you think your party can win in the forthcoming election?

[Brazauskas] Since there can be various ways of making forecasts, I find it difficult to answer your question. Although 60 percent of the candidates are party members, we hope to obtain half the total number of seats. But, this is strictly on condition that everything goes the best possible way.

[Kobayashi] What is the source of the drive for calling for secession and independence from the Central Government?

[Brazauskas] It is not a drive, but the people's awareness. I mean the awareness of the generation who remembers the time when Lithuania was independent. Although it was a short period of no more than 20 years, it was a wonderful time. People of that generation are imparting the hope for independence to the present generation. It is also a strong will for independence on the part of the people who suffered during the Stalin era. The Lithuanians at that time turned informer, on one another, even on their relatives. It was a time when we were compelled to drive each other to the brink of death. Therefore, voices calling for independence are overwhelming in Lithuania.

[Kobayashi] The CPSU has approved multiparty system. This notwithstanding, is there no change in Lithuania's determination to break away from the Soviet Union?

[Brazauskas] No, there is no change. But, we do not mean to completely part. Some people are under that impression, but what we are stressing is partnership to some extent. We mean to cooperate with the CPSU from an equal position, not to be under its jurisdiction.

Servicemen Under Attack in Lithuania

LD2202195690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Aleksandr Krutov report; From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Lithuanian press has carried a report from the republic's Committee of State Security press bureau that a convoy of servicemen was fired upon near Alytus. It also reports that lately other similar incidents have been registered in the republic. Abuse against servicemen and their family members has been getting more frequent.

All this could not fail to have an effect on the psychological climate in servicemen's collectives, where tension is mounting. Incidents have indeed occurred when they have been firing back when fired upon. Fortunately there have been no casualies to date. The circumstances of such incidents and their causes and purpose are being investigated.

A question that arises in this regard is whether those assessments now being given to the Soviet Army in the republic have not had an influence on the situation that has come about. After all, most of the political movements and parties consider it an occupation army, and the republic's Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision claiming that the Soviet Army's presence within the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic has no legal foundation.

Ramifications of Lithuania Party 'Divorce' Viewed

PM2202171590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy: "Divorce Lithuanian-Style. How Dissociation Is Proceeding Within Lithuanian Communist Party"]

[Text] Vilnius—When an operation is carried out on a living organism, it always hurts. Today the 200,000-strong Lithuanian Communist Party has come under the scalpel of political disagreement. Dissociation is under way. It is accepted to believe that this is happening in two directions. Some have chosen an independent Lithuanian Communist Party, others a Lithuanian Communist Party based on the CPSU platform. But a "third force," the largest force, has also clearly emerged today—the neutrals.

In the recent past, during the precongress debate, the most popular forecast was that the Lithuanian Communist Party would acquire monolithic strength and prestige among the masses on abandoning its dependence on the CPSU Central Committee. The split occurred like a fatal accident; judging by the republic's press, unanimity within the party was such that there was seemingly no one to break away....

The final date for dissociation is 31 March. But it can already be said today that there will be no victors in the contest between the advocates of CPSU unity and the champions of independence for the Lithuanian Communist Party. This is not only because the split has weakened each of the sides' positions. Parties, as is well known, are not only strong numerically. The main trouble is that two communist parties in a very small republic are engaged in confrontation at close quarters.

What do the figures indicate? Viktoras Baublis, head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Department, told me the precise number of communists who have accepted the new party's program and statutes—81,532. Of these, 320 entered the Lithuanian Communist Party after the 20th congress, inspired by ideas of independence.

Kaunas—which was, incidentally, the source of the ideas in favor of holding an extraordinary congress, of a party debate, and of leaving the CPSU—proved the most uniform in terms of convictions. The overwhelming majority of party members transferred to the Lithuanian Communist Party here—72 percent. It was followed among the large cities by Shyaulyay, with 43 percent.

The independents' positions are particularly strong in the rural areas of the Lithuanian "heartland," where you rarely meet a non-Lithuanian. Some 91 percent and 89

percent of communists in Ionishkskiy and Prenayskiy Rayons respectively switched.

The percentages for people supporting the Communist Party (CPSU platform) are equally high in Shalchininkskiy, Ignalinskiy, and Vilnyusskiy Rayons, where the bulk of the population are Poles, Belorussians, and descendants of the Russian Old Believers.

Statistics are stubborn things, and although both parties' leaderships assert that dissociation is taking place according to ideolcgical convictions, it must be acknowledged that the ideas have an explicit national slant.

Two "red" cities can also now be said to have clearly appeared on the political map of Lithuania. They are the capital Vilnius and the port of Klaipeda.

Anatoliy Chistyakov, secretary of the party's Vilnius City Committee [gorkom], was wary of giving a precise figure for CPSU supporters. But the day we spoke the provisional gorkom represented approximately 1,000 more communists than members of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Party conferences have already been held in Nauyoyi-Vilnyaskiy, Sovetskiy, and Oktyabrskiy Rayons—traditionally working-class rayons—and the organizations' structure has been determined. In Leninskiy Rayon the independent Communist Party's supporters had a clear advantage, but the CPSU members' positions are, nonetheless, not weak—there are approximately 4,000 of them.

Nor is the provisional Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Central Committee in possession of a precise figure for its supporters—party committees have not yet been set up in many rayons and cities and communists have not made their choice.

Nonetheless, according to preliminary calculations, the Communist Party (CPSU platform) has approximately 40,000 supporters. We will take into consideration the fact that this party is a party of commitment. A party of the minority. A party that does not enjoy particular popularity. I would even say that transferring to it demands definite courage, particularly from Lithuanian Communists.

I personally do not find the motive of uncertainty very understandable. The convinced supporters of an independent Lithuania have transferred to the Lithuanian Communist Party. Those who uphold the unity of the USSR have transferred to the Communist Party (CPSU platform). There is no third option here, so to speak. But a "third force" is biding its time, waiting to see whether or not there will be a scenario in which everyone is happy. The neutrals are waiting to see which way the scales go, in whose favor. If you consider the fact that 100,000 members of the formerly united Communist Party have taken up this temporizing position, that is above all a reason for all of us to ponder the qualitztive composition of our ranks.

I admit that reading about the percentage of people who support a particular stance is not the most rewarding of occupations. But behind these figures stand real people, along with dramas of misunderstanding and alienation. Which must also apply to rank-and-file communists if there are no contacts between the leaders of the central committees. People who still carry one type of party card today miss no opportunity to kick the "enemy" in public.

Divorce Lithuanian-style has now entered a particularly tense phase—the division of property. In any other state I would surmise that sharing out tables and buildings would be a commonplace incident. But a feud over office paper clips may provoke unpredictable consequences in our country.

It must be said that nonparty people and the public are now displaying interest in the Lithuanian Communist Party's party property. The last session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, for instance, voiced the proposal that some of the income from newspaper publishing profits be removed from the party coffers. It is planned to use party committee buildings and so on for public needs in connection with the reduction in the party apparatus.

The question of the status of SOVETSKAYA LITVA also surfaced unexpectedly for deputies (from what I saw) at the session. Citing the collective's opinion, its editor, V. Yemelyanov, proposed putting the newspaper under parliament's wing.

Unlike most newspapers and journals SOVETSKAYA LITVA—virtually the only official Russian-language newspaper in the republic, the organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee—has kept neutral. Its party organization adopted what I believe to be a reasonable decision after a lengthy discussion: It decided to wait until the 28th CPSU Congress and see the extent of CPSU renewal and then adopt a decision. Incidentally, this option was discussed as a compromise at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress but was rejected.

My referring to the SOVETSKAYA LITVA party organization's decision is no accident. It may serve as an example of cooperation between the two Communist Parties in Lithuania. With the exception of the newspaper's editor the party organization has up until the last few days stuck by the CPSU platform and... has published the newspaper of the Central Committee of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

The problem of division also lies behind the SOVETSKAYA LITVA editor's proposal: Will not the provisional Central Committee "entice" journalists over. But the Supreme Soviet put logic above tactics. Of course the parliament needs its own publication, but why must this be a Russian newspaper? If the idea of a state language is being upheld and implemented with such passion?

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum not only assessed the Lithuanian situation but also took a practical step to democratize intraparty life in the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform). The provisional Central Committee has acquired that degree of freedom whose absence gave rise to the debate within Lithuania and ultimately brought about the split. The leadership of the republic's party organization won the right to independently determine its structure and staff, control finances, and carry out ideological work among the masses without looking over its shoulder for instructions.

Will the provisional Central Committee be able to exploit these advantages? Will it through its actions be able to prove its loyalty to communist ideals, the revival of Lithuania, and to concern for man under the close and not always benevolent gaze of its rivals?

The answer to these questions will at the same time be the answer to the main question of the future: Does the Communist Party (CPSU platform) have a future in Lithuania?

Lithuanian Preelection Situation Overviewed

90UN1003A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin under rubric "Lithuania": "What Statistics Say"]

[Text] **Four days remain before the new deputies of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet are determined. On 24 February, the republic's citizens will go to the ballot boxes to vote and make their choice. I visited the republic electoral commission and asked one of its members, V. Panymisa, for statistics that characterize today's preelection situation.**

He reported that 522 registered candidates are vying for 141 deputy seats (in the old parliament there were 350 places). They include 443 Lithuanians, 33 Russians, 31 Poles, six Belorussians, three Jews, two Ukrainians, one Armenian, one Tatar, one Latvian, and one Karachai.

The educational level of the candidates is high. Only one man has an elementary education and one has an unfinished secondary education, while 480 candidates have completed institutions of higher education. Scientific degrees have been granted to 102 people, and 60 have scientific titles. There are 28 workers among the candidates and no peasants at all. Meanwhile rural residents make up about one-third of the republic's population.

More than half of the candidates are from Vilnius, Kaunas, and Klaipeda. The rest are from smaller cities and rayons.

Apart from the 322 Communists (the statistics do not yet divide them into LiCP [Lithuanian Communist Party] and LiCP on the CPSU platform) and the nonparty candidates (149 people), the Social-Democratic Party (25 people), the Lithuanian Party of Democracy (19 people), the Christian-Democratic Party (3 people), and the "Greens" Party (4 people) are also taking part in the elections. The "Sajudis" platform has 150 candidates for deputy.

Among the candidates there are 19 USSR people's deputies.

And what about servicemen? As is known, on 15 January the republic's Supreme Soviet limited their electoral rights by depriving those who are not registered on the republic's territory of the opportunity to participate in elections. Compulsory service troops immediately fell into this category, of course, except for those enlisted troops and sergeants who were conscripted from Lithuania. A portion of the officers and warrant officers also found themselves left out of the public life. Considering the wide scope, let us put it thus, of the anti-Army mood in Lithuania, one can only be surprised that five servicemen still appeared among the candidates.

Recently a group of officers from Army units of the Vilnius garrison published a news statement that declared: "Under current conditions the officers and warrant officers do not consider it possible to take part in the elections of deputies to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, and they reserve for themselves the right to boycott them."

Of course the statistics do not reflect such documents, nor do they reflect the other things that define the spectrum of preelection emotions and moods in the republic. But if the statistics pass over something in silence today, the results of the elections will provide answers to all pressing questions.

Draft Cards Burned at Lithuanian Celebrations

PM2202141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Leonid Kapelyushniy dispatch: "Lithuania: On Independence Day"]

[Text] Vilnius—A new holiday has appeared in Lithuania's calendar—Independence Day. Celebrations have been taking place throughout the republic—rallies, meetings, and masses.

Speaking at a ceremonial session in Vilnius, Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium, mentioned that this is only the third time in 72 years that celebrations have been held in Vilnius. The first time was in 1940, when Vilnius and the Vilnius region were returned to the Lithuanian people, and the second time was last year, after the democratic renewal of society in the process of perestroyka.

"Today we state to ourselves and everyone else: We have come to the celebrations determined to restore an independent and free Lithuania," A. Brazauskas said in his speech.

Not everyone in the republic understands the idea of freedom and independence in the same way. In many places the celebrations were used to kindle anti-Army sentiments.

Appeals to people not to let their children serve in the "occupation army" were voiced in Vilnius and Kaunas. Military service cards were burned by the light of the floodlights, which looked quite theatrical.

The mass media report that, according to preliminary information, around 1,000 military service cards were surrendered on Independence Day in Vilnius and 2,000 in Kaunas.

Major General A. Visotskis, the republic military commissar, made this comment:

"Under existing legislation and procedures, a military service card is a citizen's personal document and loss of it can cost the owner no more than a fine of 10 rubles. The number of military service cards surrendered or burned has yet to be established. Officers who surrendered their cards will be deprived of their military ranks, and conversations and explanations will be held with draftees. Last year 46 young people refused to serve in the Armed Forces in the republic. Under existing legislation, their cases were referred to the prosecutor's office, but, as far as I am aware, none of them has been called to account for refusing to perform military service. Of the thousands of draftees, 46 is too small a number for far-reaching conclusions to be drawn, but the situation with respect to the Army and military service in the republic is clearly unhealthy."

As Military Commissar A. Visotskis reported, those drafted in Lithuania are serving normally and there are no more and no fewer exceptional incidents involving them than anyone else. In the past year 22 servicemen died from various causes, including four suicides. Of course, every loss is irreplaceable, and every mother and father believe that if their son had been at home, nothing would have happened to him. But one of the four would have died anyhow at home—he drank antifreeze instead of alcohol....

Incidentally, neither the burning nor the surrender of military service cards means that the citizens are freed once and for all from their military service obligation. By law, they remain on the list; and if need be, they will be drafted. The military service card is also needed when changing jobs, when moving from one place to another, and so on. And citizens will only have extra problems—we cannot do without the military registration desk. So there were many cases where people have had to hunt for their military service cards....

Our Army is our anguish. Everyone knows this today. But there is something else on my mind. The first celebrations of Independence Day in Vilnius in 1940 took place thanks to the Red Army, and to forget this is to create just another cut-down version of history.

Sajudis Seimas Protests Exclusion of Congressmen

LD2302015890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2300 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] [passage indistinct] A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry told a news conference today in Moscow that the USSR Supreme Soviet had not received requests from the electoral commission or lawmaking institutions, that is the Lithuanian parliament, for U.S. congressmen to come to Lithuania to observe the elections. Allegedly, the question has not been discussed and settled through diplomatic channels.

As is known, the observers have been invited by the reform movement Sajudis. During the briefing in Moscow, Sajudis was not even mentioned. The Sajudis Seimas Council sent a protest telegram to the Soviet parliament and Foreign Ministry.

Yesterday [words indistinct] addressed a personal letter to U.S. President George Bush. The letter says that [words indistinct] would promote international cooperation and more political contacts. A delegation [words indistinct] the first multiparty elections to the Lithuanian parliament since the Lithuanian annexation in 1940. We protest against [words indistinct]. Canadian and Austrian parliamentarians, observers [words indistinct] are already in Vilnius. Today they gave a news conference. [passage indistinct]

Sajudis Head Discusses Election Prospects

AU2102150790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Feb 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka 'Sajudis,' by Marek Garztecki and Piotr Gerczuk; place and date not given: "Toward Lithuanian Independence—People Are With Us"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] At its last conference 'Sajudis' adopted its political and economic program, and presented its candidates who will be standing in the elections for the Supreme Council of Lithuania. Was this the beginning of the election campaign? The elections are on 24 February 1990.

[Landsbergis] We began a little earlier. We have been presenting our candidates to the public in the press for some time now. During our conference, we presented our program and almost all of our candidates. Thanks to the fact that the television network broadcast our conference, the whole of Lithuania was able to familiarize itself with our program and get to know our candidates.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Will the upcoming elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Council really be free, and will they be decisive for Lithuania? Will the people be voting for political programs or personalities?

[Landsbergis] These elections will be relatively free owing to the fact that the candidates will actually be

running against each other. This is unheard of in the history of Soviet Lithuania. There is, however, an imbalance in the availability of access to the media. There is also lack of mutual confidence. These elections, although perceived as free, are not in fact free. In Lithuania there is still an army of occupation. The security services are directly controlled from Moscow. These units may choose not to interfere directly in these elections, but on the other hand, they may do so. The pressure, however, is always there, and there have been provocations, the use of force, threats, and demonstrations. This is bound to have an effect on the voters.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] We were shown around the 'Sajudis' headquarters. The movement's offices occupy two floors of a dilapidated building, whereas the party headquarters is in a splendid modern complex of buildings. How does 'Sajudis' compare with the communist party in terms of resources?

[Landsbergis] The communists dispose of vastly superior resources than we do, namely, the press, radio, and television. Once a week we have our allotted 90 minutes of air-time. The rest of the week belongs to them. They have the opportunities to subtly undermine the confidence that the public places in our candidates.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What outcome are you predicting?

[Landsbergis] I anticipate a 'Sajudis' victory, because we enjoy wider public confidence. The press can continue to print letters from citizens who purport to be angered by our activities, but when the crunch comes, the people will support us. We are counting on 0.5 million, one million, and even 1.5 million.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Lately, Algirdas Brazauskas, the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, has become very widely known in the West, because he chose to oppose Moscow. The fact that he did so is considered to have boosted the election chances of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Do you agree with this?

[Landsbergis] In part, yes. The Lithuanian Communist Party would not stand a chance of surviving otherwise. Without doubt this is a political gain. The psychological moment is also as important. The Lithuanian nation survived for decades, but it did not have any chance of participating in political life. It may have clung to the hope that some individual would sooner or later arrive on the scene. The party leadership has several people who are very likable and who enjoy a certain amount of public confidence. This is also a political plus. On the other hand, however, there is still a great deal of suspicion attached to the word communist. It is difficult to speculate how all these factors will influence the outcome of the elections.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you foresee a similar situation to the one which occurred in Poland at a certain stage? Members of 'Sajudis' who are also party members, will have to make a choice when it transpires that the party and 'Sajudis' want two different things.

[Landsbergis] This is quite possible. Some of them are in the party hierarchy because of their sense of public duty. They felt that they wanted to bring something about. If they succeed, then their decision will be proved to have been the right one, if not, they will have to reconsider their plans. This could lead to conflicts. At present, there are certain elements in the thinking of the Lithuanian Communist Party on Lithuanian independence that are still left unsaid. This issue is still very dependent on developments in Moscow. Such an approach only arouses suspicion.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is 'Sajudis' saying about independence?

[Landsbergis] 'Sajudis' is aiming for full Lithuanian independence. It sees Lithuania as a sovereign state that may well be linked to the USSR, Poland, or Sweden in some official way. It is obvious that relations with neighboring states are bound to be more intimate. It is also obvious that we shall have to take into consideration the strategic and military interests of the USSR, but this can only be along the lines of negotiation between sovereign states, and not on the basis of demands or pleas.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] When will the question of Lithuanian independence become a major issue?

[Landsbergis] We are not certain of the election outcome. We have to let the election take its course. There may be active provocations. This technique can clearly be observed in the Caucasus and elsewhere. We must be very careful. If everything goes according to plan, the post-election period may last into March. That is when the new government will be formed. Later, candidates will have to be selected for the eventual talks with Moscow on the subject of Lithuanian independence. It is foreseeable that one of the two following formulas will be used. Either there will be a joint decision agreeing and making public the date of Lithuania's independence, or there could be a legal declaration of independence made unilaterally by Vilnius to Moscow and the world. The latter is obviously more dramatic, but it may prove to be more effective. Whichever one we use will depend on the situation in the whole of the Soviet Union.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You mentioned the Caucasus. There are two views on this. The first says that it is good that such a comparison between Lithuania, Azerbaijan, and Armenia has emerged, because it has strengthened Lithuania's position. Namely, Lithuania has chosen to follow a sensible path. The second view maintains that the events in the Caucasus have shown that Gorbachev will, if need be, use force to intervene in such situations....

[Landsbergis] This is a warning to us. We should not be surprised by anything. Such situations may be centrally provoked in order to declare a state of emergency

throughout the USSR. When I read the central press, I am struck by the similarity in the terminology used when there is reference to the Caucasus, or the Baltic republics. Both areas are portrayed as separatist and extremist, and, regrettably, this terminology has began to seep through to the West. This is extremely negative and unjust to us. We are a recognized state that was unlawfully annexed by an imperial power. There lies the essence of the matter. In the Caucasus, the problems are more complicated and the situation is tense. We wanted to help in some way and mediate in Riga between the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do the Baltic states wish to assist in this way?

[Landsbergis] We intend to continue our attempts to help. We can see that the situation is very difficult. Moscow is not fit to mediate, and it is not known whether it really wants to. Keeping an ongoing situation may be in Moscow's interest. There will be no elections in the Caucasus and martial law will just be extended.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you believe in Gorbachev's goodwill?

[Landsbergis] I have no choice, we have to believe in such goodwill and the fact that it exists.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Will the sort of changes taking place in Lithuania also take place in the other Baltic republics?

[Landsbergis] Lithuania is not the first country in which changes have taken place. Although it may be unique as concerns the changes in the Lithuanian Communist Party. In Latvia, the situation is unclear. In Estonia, the communist party will dissolve itself and the only thing remaining will be a Russian Communist Party as a kind of paradox. Conditions in each of these countries vary and the time scale in which all these transformations are taking place seems to be different. This is not a bad sign in itself. It shows a kind of pluralism. We are in constant contact and we keep each other informed of our respective developments.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Is it possible for Lithuania to be economically independent of the Soviet Union?

[Landsbergis] As regards the economy, it is clear that not only Lithuania, but larger states, cannot claim to be economically independent. It is said that Lithuania is totally dependent on the USSR, but there are areas of the economy where the USSR is totally dependent on Lithuania.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Looking to the future. How do you see Lithuania's future? With which country will it decide to link its fate?

[Landsbergis] Our most obvious support is the Soviet Union, or whatever comes after it. There will also be an integration of the Baltic states. This may provide a counterweight to our eastern neighbor and it may also be a starting point for integrating in Europe. This process cannot happen as fast as Gorbachev seems to think it will. We have a common home and a common home can also be turned into a prison.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you think that Lithuania's history—very bad relations with its neighbors—could be decisive?

[Landsbergis] Of course it could. But it was never a case of just bad relations. For example, our relationship with Poland had a long and fruitful history. This relationship has sometimes been interpreted too one-sidedly, but I think these matters will sort themselves out when we can give the answer to the question: "What is Lithuania and what is Poland from the legal and territorial point of view"? After this has been done, it will pave the way to developing all that was good in our history, and we can then put aside all those things than were bad in our relationship. I hope this happens. We have good relations with democratic circles in Poland. If there is movement in this direction, there will be no problems, but if strong nationalisms spring up, there could well be problems, and we shall lose a good deal of valuable time. Being an optimist, I believe that we shall be good neighbors in the future.

Rukh Representative Addresses Sajudis Conference

LD0502110890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Speech by Ivan Drach, "Guest From Ukraine", at Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring electoral conference in Vilnius—live in Russian]

[Text] Dear friends, allow me to greet you on behalf of the Popular Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] of the Ukraine and on behalf of the Ukraine. The Ukraine has had in its history many invaders, imperialists, etc. But the best and the most decent in our history were the Lithuanian imperialists. [applause] This was roughly in 1380-1580. You know that part of the Black Sea used to be called the Lithuanian Sea. You better know it from your history. And here is yet another aspect. In the Ukraine the northern wind, that so severe northern wind, is called the Muscovite, and the northwestern wind, which blows from Belorussia and Lithuania, is called the Lithuanian. And now this Lithuanian wind is blowing in the sails of our Rukh. In my opinion it is a good wind and a good sign. [applause] We all enjoy this wind.

I myself, apart from coming here to greet you and to learn many things, have a secret aim to my visit. I think that we should jointly publish either a newspaper or a magazine—Sajudis, Rukh, maybe, the Belorussian People's Front or, maybe, Polish Solidarity. We should remember that at one time we had the Lithuanian Statute, and this Lithuanian Statute is very esential for us in the sense of our common participation and our common good wind. I greet you, dear friends. [applause]

Brazauskas Attends Kaunas Meetings

90UN0860A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Jan 90 p 1

[ELTA report: "To Rally Forces in Name of Future of Lithuania"]

[Text] Kaunas, 23 Jan (ELTA) [Lithuanian Telegraph Agency]—Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [LiSSR] Supreme Soviet, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania [CPLi], visited Kaunas today.

The guest attended a meeting of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] which discussed the topical issues of housing construction and the provision of apartments to the residents of Kaunas. Thousands of people in the city are on waiting lists for apartments. More than 2,000 families still live in condemned houses. This is why a sharp discussion took place at a rally recently organized here; its participants called for revising the housing legislation, expanding and encouraging the construction of residential homes, and providing loans to individual developers.

Algirdas Brazauskas, who spoke at the meeting, informed members of the gorispolkom about the political situation in the republic and the country and talked about elections to the LiSSR Supreme Soviet and the participation of all strata of the republic's populace in them. Forthcoming elections to the local soviets are also quite important. The residents of cities and villages should nominate and elect the most active proponents of perestroyka, the most competent specialists. The soviets and their executive organs will resolve many urgent issues together. At present, all of us are concerned about the condition of communal facilities, construction and maintenance of residential housing, and social justice. The laws on property, self-government, and so on, which are being developed, and the initiative of the local organs of power will make it possible to resolve the issues of concern to the city residents, as well as to provide them with apartments.

Following the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to our republic the CPLi should show the residents of the republic its unshakable resolve to accomplish the economic independence and achieve the independence of Lithuania through its everyday practical activities. It is gratifying that many citizens of the republic support the decisions of the 20th CPLi Congress.

Algirdas Brazauskas stressed that independence will open up opportunities for creating normal conditions of work and life for everyone, for the development of national self-awareness and culture. However, this is a long and difficult journey. We can hardly hope to succeed in the absence of persistent work, of business links to other republics. The central departments have not yet taken a single step to support our economic independence; they are blocking direct contacts between enterprises. We still have to explain, demand, and assert many things.

During his visit to Kaunas, Algirdas Brazauskas met with the secretaries of the Kaunas Gorkom [city party committee] and discussed with them some topical issues of party activities.

At noon, Algirdas Brazauskas visited the old part of Kaunas. He viewed building No. 6 at Valanchyaus Street where the residence of the chairman of the Bishops' Conference of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, Vintsentas Cardinal Sladkyavichyus, will be outfitted.

Algirdas Brazauskas met with Archbishop of Kaunas Ordinary Vintsentas Cardinal Sladkyavichyus and other ranking representatives of the church and visited the Inter-Diocesan Theological Seminary of Kaunas.

In conversations with the clergy, the issues of a new position of the Lithuanian Catholic Church in society, cooperation in the sphere of reinforcing spirituality, diligence, and industriousness of our society, and the potential of the church in the ethical upbringing of the young people were discussed. Confidence was expressed that relations between the government of the republic and the Catholic Church will improve, and cooperation and mutual understanding will develop.

During his visit to Kaunas, Algirdas Brazauskas visited Orphanage No. 1 and discussed prospects for improving further operations of such facilities with its management and educators.

LiSSR Minister of People's Education Genrikas Zabulis and Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the LiSSR Council of Ministers Kazimeras Valanchyus took part in the meetings in Kaunas.

The important guest was accompanied on his trip through Kaunas by Vitautas Arbachyauskas, first secretary of the Kaunas Gorkom, and Alfonsas Gaputis, chairman of the gorispolkom.

Brazauskas Meets Komsomol Central Committee

90UN0967A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 25 Jan 90 p 1

[ELTA report: "Komsomol Members Meet With A. Brazauskas"]

[Text] Vilnius, 24 Jan (ELTA)—Today in the conference hall of the "Letuva" Hotel members of the Central Committee of the republic Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and secretaries of the city and rayon committees of the Lithuanian Komsomol met with Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

As he opened the meeting Alfonsas Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee, noted that the members of the Lithuanian Komsomol in the republic number more than 73,000 today, and that more than 28,000 young boys and girls still have not made their final decision. The number of primary Komsomol organizations has decreased by two-thirds. Discussions are under way concerning the name of the organization.

A. Brazauskas answered questions concerning ties between Komsomol and party organizations, preparations for the approaching CPSU Central Committee plenum, relations between the Army and society, and roads to an independent Lithuania. He stressed that today, as never before, unity of all the organizations and the republic's social movements is needed. He touched upon problems of economic independence, gave an evaluation of events in the Soviet Union and Europe, and spoke about the role of youth in politics.

The members of the Komsomol talked about work under the new conditions and about problems arising in relations with local party committees.

Ukrainian Party Plenum Sees 'Critical' Situation

LD2202212690 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Kiev February 22 TASS—The socio-political situation in the Ukraine has reached critical tension, said participants in an enlarged plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee held here today.

The forces that, having no specific socio-economic programme, openly attack the party and socialism and are eager to get power, are manifesting themselves ever more vigorously.

The situation is aggravated by inconsistency in the implementation of the economic reform, mismanagement, shortages, inflation.

Social differentiation increases. Disrespect for laws spreads. Morality, discipline and order deteriorate. Speculation and crime are on the rise.

Regrettably, some party committees and organisations are confused, are unable to react promptly and flexibly to the changes in the political situation and try to solve new tasks by old methods, it was noted at the plenum.

A gap began to open betwen the centre and local bodies, between party committees and rank-and-file communists.

The plenum declared for decisive measures to stabilise the situation and rally the communists and the entire people. It condemned the attempts to disrupt the process of perestroyka in party committees and organisations by rallies and other forms of power pressure.

It was decided that during the preparation for the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, primary party organisations should assess the ideological and political stand of every communist and distance themselves from those who virtually placed themselves outside the party and who do not subscribe to its programme goals.

It was deemed necessary to speed up the drafting and adoption of the law on sovereignty and self-government of the Ukrainian Republic, to press for strict observance of treaty relations and oppose departmental diktat.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the current period, and the resolutions against the whipping up of ethnic tension and on the strengthening of ties between the Ukrainian people and the Soviet Armed Forces.

Ukraine Polls Show 'Critical' Public Mood

LD2202150190 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpts] A public poll for Radio Kiev conducted by the Ukrainian Association of Young Sociologists shows the critical mood of the Ukrainian population in the country's current situation.

Thus, 82% of those polled believe the restructuring has only partially met their expectations. Among the young the percentage is even higher: 90. Only 33% of those polled believe economic problems can be solved positively. As to the nationality question, almost 40% expressed great doubt that it can be solved by directives. [passage omitted]

The young are especially pessimistic. Over 40% of this group believes the situation in the country is not changing at all. [passage omitted]

Kiev Conference Calls for Party Chief To Resign

LD2102155190 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] A demand for the resignation of the first secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Anatoliy Korniyenko is contained in a resolution of the second conference of representatives of party organizations and party clubs of Kiev, who come out for a radical reform of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The conference participants condemned attempts of the conservative forces among the party and state leaders to hamper perestroyka and discredit the constructive initiatives coming from the people.

Ukraine Party Interethnic Relations Body Meets

LD2202133490 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting of the commission for interethnic relations of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has been held. It was chaired by Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central

Committee. The commission analyzed the situation in the sphere of current interethnic relations in the republic. Petitions sent by citizens to party committees, government offices, and mass information media concerning this question were reviewed. Following an exchange of views, the commission recommended to party committees and also to communists working in the mass information media to actively propagate the idea of interethnic unity and friendship among peoples of the USSR, to raise political vigilance regarding rumors on eventual clashes and pogroms, to expose their antipopular essence, and to assist in creating an atmosphere of public confidence and calm.

Attention of the party organizations of law-enforcement organs was focused on the need for all staff to resolutely and quickly use existing legislation against persons and groups which deprive citizens of national equality and initiate exteme actions, thus guaranteeing the security of every person, regardless of nationality.

'Ukrainianization' of Military Service Demanded

PM2302085790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 First Edition p 4

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Ukraine: Now Rally Outside Military Commissariat"]

[Text] Lvov is not experiencing the best of times. Perestroyka has revealed considerable economic, social, and ecological problems. This not only arouses concern in the townspeople but also overt disatisfaction. Naturally they blame all their ills on the local authorities, who, in their opinion, are insufficiently consistent and resolute. If that is the case, they should resign. That is the informals' demand.

Does this reflect the majority view? Who is interested in this? No one is in the mood for sociological studies. How can some people fail to ponder whether picketing the party obkom [oblast party committee] will improve the prevailing situation?

Admittedly, even Professor M. Golubets, chairman of a "Rukh" kray council, tried to warn the informals against thoughtless actions. In a recent speech, he acknowledged that their concern is understandable, but the difficulties and problems must not be resolved by shouting, as some people are trying to do, but by dialogue. However, the gathering did not heed the professor's exhortations or moreover the appeals from the "Rukh" kray council during the election campaign to stop picketing the obkom.

Emotions have already taken off. For instance, representatives of the recently organized committee "To Create Ukrainian Armed Forces" urged people to begin picketing the oblast military commissariat. At the precise appointed time young and old people carrying yellow and blue flags and banners gathered on narrow I. Franko Street. Passersby looked at the portrait of S. Bandera, some with interest, some with indignation, and read the exclamatory posters: "We Do Not Want to Serve in an Army of Occupation!" "We Will Not Enter the Russian Army!" "Either Service in the Ukraine or Down With the Draft!"

I will not cite the speakers. They spoke in the same vein as the posters. Hence the categorical demand to the oblast military commissariat leadership: Inhabitants of Lvov and the oblast should only spend their compulsory military service on Ukrainian territory, representatives of other republics should no longer serve on the territory of the city and the oblast, and the gradual Ukrainianization of the higher military political school should begin.

Then there was a long conversation in the office of Major General I. Altashin, oblast military commissar. Representatives of the informals came along and did not merely familiarize the general with their demands but also insisted on his countersigning them. There was no dialogue here either.

Bishop Nominated for Ukrainian People's Deputy

90UN0943B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by A. Fedorov, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent: "Bishop and His Program"]

[Text] Bishop Antoniy of Chernovtsy and Bukovina, has been nominated as a candidate for UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputy, as well as candidate for the oblast soviet deputy. He was nominated by the members of the oblast Miloserdie [Charity] Foundation and of the Bukovina Zeleny Rukh [Green Movement].

"The diocese headed by Bishop Antoniy takes a most active part in all of our work," I was told at the Miloserdie Foundation. "When disaster came to Chernovtsy and the children started coming down with an unknown malady, the church immediately donated R30,000 for their treatment. Later the cathedral donated another 50,000 for the same purpose.

Wherever trouble came the Bukovina believers rushed to people's aid with their savings, with medicines, and to provide care for the victims. This was the case at the time of the Chernobyl disaster and during the days of mourning in Georgia. The church did not remain indifferent when the elements destroyed cities in Armenia. The diocese sent R100,000 to the victims. Now the Bukovina clergy have called upon the people to collect a R100,000 fund to aid Romania.

"All our activities like collecting donations, helping the sick and the needy, appealing in our sermons to believers to participate in the renewal of our social life—all of this is our support for perestroyka," says Bishop Antoniy. "We are doing it all in the name of peace and to establish goodwill and mutual understanding between the people."

Bishop Antoniy of Chernovtsy and Bukovina is 49-year old Vladimir Ivanovich Moskalenko. He was born in a worker's family in Khabarovsk. His father was killed in the war. V.I. Moskalenko served in the Pacific Flotilla of the Navy for four years. After that he studied jurisprudence at the Krasnoyarskiy State University, he graduated from the seminary and the ecclesiastical academy. He served as a priest for 16 years in cities of the Ukraine and Siberia. In Kiev he was dean of the Vladimirskiy Cathedral and vicar for the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia.

"Your Grace, could you tell us about your pre-election platform?"

"To be brief, the main thing is to serve people, to preserve peace and serenity, to instill the feelings of kindness and mercy in people's hearts, to protect the environment. I would like to restore to people their belief in honesty, decency, and justice. This year we are going to open Sunday schools for the spiritual and moral education of the young people. We have gained opportunities which we did not have before."

The Bishop mentioned also what a great honor his nomination as a candidate was for all believers and for him personally.

Kiev 'Antichauvinist' Mass Rally Set for 25 Feb

LD2202152490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports from Kiev that an anti- chauvinist action will be held there on Sunday. At approximately 1400 [1100 GMT] Kiev residents of various nationalities will assemble in the central streets of the city. Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles, Greeks, Germans, and Tatars, will hold hands and form a circle of unity. A friendship meeting will then take place.

Ivashko Likely Opponent in Kiev Election Profiled

PM2302093590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 p2

[D. Tabachik report under rubric "Election-90": " 'First' Among Equals"]

[Text] The Ukraine—Vladimir Ivashko, USSR people's deputy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, is standing as candidate for Ukrainian people's deputy in the city of Kiev's No. 6 Darnitskiy Electoral Okrug. According to Ukrainian Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] Central Committee sociologists, his most likely challenger among the remaining nine candidates could be 23-year-old Konstantin Vashko.

Ivashko is a new face in the top party apparatus and, for many, he personifies hopes for changes in the republic, which is also now being swept by "oblast-scale revolutions." The leaders of the republic's Communist Party are really oriented toward radical changes. The very fact that Ivashko has decided to contest his seat in the republic's parliament in the Kiev okrug, renowned for its housing, environmental, and transport problems, says a great deal. Naturally he is not short of helpers, nor should he be: His "agents" include people from the Darnitskiy raykom [rayon party committee] and the Kiev gorkom [city party committee]. But elections are elections. None of the contenders have stepped down as candidates in Ivashko's favor yet. And, of course, no one in this situation is trying to force any of the contenders for the seat to make way for the Politburo member. Not even the parents of Kostya Vashko, with whom he admits having "political differences of opinion." His father works in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Kiev State University Philosophy Department postgraduate also does not have to worry about his popularity and support in formal and informal circles on the whole. He is a delegate to the All-Union Student Forum and the 21st Komsomol Congress, an organizer of the "roundtable" for Kiev youth organizations, and a member of the Kiev Inter-VUZ [higher education establishment] Komsomol Committee Bureau. He was nominated by a Darnitskiy Komsomol Raykom plenum.

Konstantin is a communist, which, in the present situation, threatens him with nothing more than anonymous inscriptions on his agitation leaflets, warning citizens of the "red danger." But, as Vashko himself says, he is fighting for the victory of his platform, while the first secretary of the Central Committee also has to prove his right to protect people's interests.

"By calling for radical changes in socioeconomic relations in the republic," the young candidate for deputy believes, "I am appealing not to the past but to the future, to a variety of forms of ownership. This position will become possible after the adoption of the Law on Parties and the new Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution, which will enshrine the Ukrainian people's full and absolute sovereignty over their land."

I cannot refrain from making a pun. If you change the letter "sh" into "zh" in the surname Vashko, you get the Ukrainian word which translates as "difficult." Yes, for people like Vashko it certainly is "vazhko"—difficult. But that is normal.

Planned Pesticide Plant in Ukraine Scrapped

LD2202201290 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Kiev February 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Novak:

Plans to build a high-capacity pesticide plant near the settlement of Shumskoye, western Ukraine, have been scrapped after a public outcry.

Local residents protested against the construction of the large ecologically hazardous chemical plant since its planned site was in the most densely populated and fertile area of the Ukraine.

There are unique historico-cultural republican and national reserves there, with rare plants and animals.

The region abounds in harmful plants, it was noted in collective letters and messages to Soviet Communist Party and government leaders. The Khmelnitskiy nuclear power plant is under construction 30 kilometers from the site of the planned chemical factory. The Zdolbunovskiy cement and roofing slate complex, the Rovno nuclear power plant and other industrial enterprises are also not far.

"A pesticide factory shall not be built in the Carpathian area," Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol said, announcing the government's decision.

The public received the decision with satisfaction. The republican Council of Ministers decided to establish in the region a state reserve Medobory in order to preserve the unique natural wealth.

Further Reportage on Dushanbe Situation

Internal Affairs Update

LD2202122790 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1000 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The press center of the republic's Internal Affairs reports: During the past 24 hours, the situation in Dushanbe city has generally not changed. Yesterday, due to false rumors alleging that mass meetings will be held, attendance by workers and employees in industrial, construction, and transport enterprises, cultural and educational institutions, the schools decreased. Party and soviet officials, law enforcement bodies, Komsomol committees, local committees and voluntary [word indistinct] made every effort to calm people and tell them they should not believe every kind of rumor. It was due to these efforts that mass meetings, murder, and arson did not take place yesterday.

With the [word indistinct] local soviet organs and sale and use of alcoholic drinks was banned temporarily in Tursunzada, Ordzhonikidzeabad, Gissar and Lenin towns and regions and in Warzab. Dushanbe bakeries were working in two and three shifts. It would be noted that in the past 24 hours, inhabitants handed over 250 hunting guns to relevant organs. Ninety-two persons were detained for not observing curfew hours. (?Officials) of the state's automobile inspection group stopped 5,883 vehicles, seven of which did not have registration plates. Four drivers were found to be drunk. Seven persons believed to be guilty in events of 12-13 February were arrested, one was imprisoned.

Citizens Cleanup Operation

PM2202142590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents Aleksandr Karpov and Vladimir Kuleshov: "City Coming to Its Senses"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Life in the capital of Tajikistan is returning to normal.

One of the chief signs of this is the fact that school lessons have resumed after a break of almost one week.

True, as a precaution, the state of emergency and the curfew are still in force. Self-defense staffs are working in all rayons. They include people of different nationalities—Tajiks, Russians, Germans, Uzbeks... The detachments' activity is not confined just to guarding apartment blocks and adjacent yards. With their active participation the residents of Tsentralnyy Rayon, for example, undertook voluntary Sunday work to clean up the territory and provide services and amenities.

The work of the city passenger pool has been resumed, and there is a 100-percent turnout of buses, trolleybuses, and route taxis. Bus traffic has also begun on intercity routes. The city's medical establishments are working normally.

No interethnically motivated crimes or offenses have been recorded in the past 24 hours. The investigative organs are continuing to bring to light those to blame for the tragic events at the beginning of last week. The identities of nine more people have been established, and five of them have been arrested. Seventy-nine people were arrested for violating the curfew, and State Automobile Inspectorate posts checked more than 3,870 vehicles and detained six without state license plates. Since the beginning of the events 457 smoothbore firearms have been voluntarily surrendered by the population or confiscated by law-enforcement organs.

A voluntary collection of funds has begun throughout the republic to eliminate the aftermath of what has happened. A meeting was held on the "Leningrad" Collective Farm in Kulyabskiy Rayon, at which a decision was adopted to transfer 5,000 rubles to the capital's special account. The farm workers voiced a desire that this money be used to rebuild the bookstore on Dushanbe's Lenin Avenue.

Apology for 'Anti-Armenian Act'

PM2302102790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Bablumyan report: "Letter From Tajik Academics"]

[Text] Yerevan—On Tuesday, all the republic's newspapers published a letter addressed to Academician V. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences.

We quote it in full:

"On behalf of the scientific community Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences tenders its apologies for the provocative actions by the dark forces which involved an unsophisticated group of Tajik youngsters in an anti-Armenian act. These actions have been resolutely condemned by the republic's citizens. We will not allow the traditional friendship between our peoples—friendship which is deep-rooted in the centuries—to be destroyed."

The letter was signed by S. Negmatullayev, president of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Session Opens 22 Feb

LD2202164790 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 0950 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The 16th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Repubic [SSR] of the 11th convocation opened in Alma-Ata today. The session was opened by Deputy Medeubekov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR. The session agenda will deal with a draft law of the Kazakh SSR on leasing and peasant farming; confirming decrees of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Kazakh SSR; changes in the composition of the Central Electoral Commissiosn for elections and the recall of people's deputies of the Kazakh SSR and the chairman of the Kazakh SSR.

A report on the first point of the session's agenda was delivered by Deputy Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, and then debates began.

Taking part in the work of the session are Deputy Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; Deputy Sagdiyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Kazakh SSR; Deputy Karamanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR; USSR People's Deputy (Shepilov), head of a sector of the Department of Party Building and Cadre Policy of the CPSU Central Committee; and representatives of lease-holding collectives. The session is continuing its work.

Nazarbyev Elected Chairman

LD2202172590 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] In accordance with the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, adopted with changes and amendments on 22 September 1989 at the republic's Supreme Soviet extraordinary 14th session, the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was introduced. He also heads the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In connection with this, the present post of Supreme Soviet chairman who, until now, conducted the sessions, is abolished.

The floor was given to Deputy Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. He requested to be relieved of his duty as chairman of the Republican Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension. At the same time, he submitted a proposal, according to a recommendation of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee's 19th plenum, which had been supported by the party group of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of the Elders, to elect as chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Deputy Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.

The Supreme Soviet resolution was adopted on the release of the Deputy Sagdiyev from his deputies as chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. The candidacy of Deputy Nazarbayev was put on a list for a secret vote as chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. As a result of the vote, he was elected chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. An appropriate resolution was adopted on this issue. Nursultan Abish-ogly Nazarbayev spoke at the session. After that, the session was chaired by Nazarbayev. The Supreme Soviet relieved Sidorova of her duties as deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with her retirement on pension.

The Supreme Soviet elected Deputy Tereshchenko as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Thereupon, the 16th session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation ended its work.

New Chairman Profiled

LD2202211790 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Alma-Ata February 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Isakov:

Today's session of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet, the supreme legislative authority of this Asian Soviet Republic, elected Nursultan Nazarbayev president of the Supreme Soviet. He will remain first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party and will combine these two posts, in accordance with recent amendments to the republican constitution.

Nazarbayev is popular in Kazakhstan. The concept of the republic's self-financing and self-government was worked out under his guidance. Its putting into practice will be a new and promising step. However, the leader of the republic is a firm supporter of Kazakhstan being an integral part of the Soviet Union.

Kazakh people know well Nazarbayev's support for the buildup of Kazakhtan's production potential and the solution of social problems, as well as his ability to

uphold his opinion. He is a staunch opponent of a raw-material orientation of the Kazakh economy. Besides, he is putting much effort into providing every family with good housing. In the current five-year-plan period the republic built 30 percent more flats than during the corresponding period of the previous five-year-plan.

Nazarbayev worked for ten years as a worker at a blast-furnace production shop of the Karaganda metallurgical works. He received a higher technical education and graduated from a higher party school at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. He was elected head of the party organisation of the Karaganda metallurgical works, then held the posts of secretary of the Karaganda regional party committee, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and prime minister of the republic. Last June he was elected chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

His hobbies include tennis and literature, but his favourite occupation is to play with his little grandson Nuraly. However, he has little time for it. Now, with the two posts to combine, he will have even less spare time.

Lease Law Adopted

LD2202220590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Feb 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; interview with S.U. Dzhandosov, chairman of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Labor and Social Issues, by D. Baimbetov; place, date not given]

[Text] The 16th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] took place today in Alma-Ata.

[Baimbetov] Returning the owner to the land and the enterprise, creating conditions for radically changing production-economic relations in the republic's agriculture and industry, securing the elimination of the peasant's alienation from the means of production and the results of labor—such was the thought that ran through all the deputies' speeches, but there are still quite a few obstacles in the way of leasing, they said.

[Dzhandosov] The introduction of leasing in Kazakhstan is, so far, proceeding mainly from above. It is, perhaps, for that reason that only 40 collectives of only 49 industrial enterprises ventured to opt for leasing. In the countryside, the percentage spread seems to be greater, but leasing is not progressing there either, mainly, I think, because there is resistance from the owners. They may be representatives of state ownership or leaders of various ranks, but they are afraid of losing power. I am in favor of the equality of lessee and lessor.

[Baimbetov] The new relations are, nevertheless, making headway. In the agro-industrial complex alone there are already some 4,000 lease collectives today. They are state farms, individual peasant holdings, cooperatives, and so on. Of course, among them there are quite a few that are purely formal and accept only elements of leasing, while real leasing involves no plans or assignments sent down from above, no limits or norms. All output belongs to those who have produced it. This is what the deputies were thinking mainly of when they adopted the law on leasing.

After a lively discussion, the Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision "on forbidding the republic's enterprises to dispatch beyond the confines of the Kazakh SSR above plan output that they have produced."

Stalin Victims in Kazakhstan Rehabilitated

LD1602214990 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 16 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Raisa Ioffe]

[Text] Alma Ata February 16 TASS—Over 30,000 people, who were groundlessly convicted in the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's, have been rehabilitated in Soviet Kazakhstan, sources at the Kazakh security committee and the procurator's office told TASS.

Their cases appeared to be fabricted and full of gross violations of socialist legality.

The analysis of documents showed that between 1930 and 1953, 35,000 people were charged with counter-revolutionary and state crimes and convicted by courts and non-court bodies.

A total of 5,430 of them were shot, including state and party figures, scientists, artists, writers, managers, workers, peasants and even state security men, who did not waive the principles of socialist legality.

The rehabilitation of innocent victims continues. It will be completed in the first half of this year.

The search for victims' graves is underway as well. With public help, graves have been found in the Aktyubinsk, Tselinograd and Chimkent regions of Kazakhstan.

PRAVDA Previews Uzbekistan Elections

PM2202160390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent A. Kaipbergenov under "Looking Ahead to Elections" rubric: "'In Principle, I Am Not Against It...'"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—Millions of Uzbekistan's citizens on 18 February will go to the ballot box to express their views of the contenders for seats as republican and local soviet people's deputies and for their programs. Over 1,100 candidates have been registered for the 500 seats in the new Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The increase in party members' authority has certainly been aided by the new republican leadership's vigorous measures to solve pressing socioeconomic problems.

At the same time, the logic of the democratization of political life is involving in public life broader and broader strata of the population which are actively putting forward new ideas and new people. Does this logical process always run smoothly?

"We are aware that the train has left the station, so to speak, and nothing can be changed any more," said two people from Uzbekistanskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast, who made a special journey to the PRAVDA bureau. Communist Kh. Otabayev and nonparty person A. Dzhurayev gave an account of the ins and outs of the election campaign in their rayon. According to them, the local authorities have been using the stick and carrot routine, putting pressure on labor collectives, voters, and candidates. As a result of this "struggle," three districts each saw two people registered as candidate people's deputies. In the fourth, however, the candidate was the chief of the Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department.

So was this an exception to the rule? I took a look at the official list of registered candidates for the end of January. Many party and soviet workers of all ranks are waging a full-blooded election campaign for a deputy's seat, including the second secretary, the chief of a Central Committee department, and the chairman of the republican Council of Ministers. At the same time, in one-third of the districts there will be only one name on the ballot paper. A good 50 percent of them are leaders of party or soviet organs: 10 secretaries or leaders of Central Committee departments, 14 obkom [party oblast committee] secretaries, around 40 party gorkom [city committee] or raykom [rayon committee] first secretaries, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and his two deputies, and around 20 leaders of oblast and rayon soviet executive committees. Perhaps they all enjoy such prestige among the people that no one can compete with them?

"During the work of the Central Electoral Commission on the Elections to the Supreme Soviet," T. Sabitov, chairman of the republican Central Electoral Commission, said, "we received more than 1,000 written or verbal complaints. Some of them were 'variant readings' of certain less than precise provisions of the new Law on Elections. In particular, Article 31 of the law says: 'As a rule, people nominated as Uzbek SSR candidate people's deputies are citizens working or living on the territory of the relevant electoral district.' On this matter the district electoral commission makes a decision in each specific case. We examine some conflict situations at regular commission sessions."

There was much criticism of the registration of candidates, although, according to the law, it ended on 18 January. For example, in Uzunskiy District No. 358 the electoral commission met three times in January for one and the same reason, and on each occasion mutually exclusive decisions were made. The first session "legalized" only one candidate—Sariasiyskiy Party Raykom First Secretary V. Khomyak; the second—after documents were checked by a commission representative—V. Khomyak and a native of the area, a young poet who is well known in the republic. The next day T. Mengliyev, member of the Surkhan-Darya Party Obkom Bureau and oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairman, arrived in the rayon and the district commission, by a majority of votes, reverted... to its initial decision.

I called the party raykom and spoke with First Secretary V. Khomyak.

"What do you think about being left without any competition?"

"In principle I am not against competition, but there are many districts like that...."

Vladimir Petrovich is quite right. Incidentally, it turns out that his "struggle" for a rayon soviet seat is also a "battle with his own shadow."

Obviously, this is due to our ingrained habit of waging a strident "struggle" without competition.... The inhabitants of many regions of the country know what trouble this leads to. They also remember that such leading workers do not always come up with the right decisions in emergencies, while their generally correct words do not reach people's hearts and minds.

I remember how six months ago, at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, during the discussion of the tragic events in Fergana Oblast, the chairman, with pain in his voice, asked the party committee leaders: Why, at the critical moment, did the people not recognize you, not follow you? There was no reply then....

As I was about to transmit this item to the editorial office, a regular reader from the city of Yangiyul, T. Ashurov, arrived at the correspondents' center. He brought with him an issue of the rayon paper YANGIYUL (NEW PATH), which had published a list of registered rayon soviet candidate people's deputies. There were 84 candidates challenging for 80 seats. Only in four districts will there be real competition.

Uzbek Parliamentary Election Results Reported

Electoral Commission's Review

LD2102210290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The results of the elections to people's deputies of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, which were held on 18 February, were summed up at a session of the Central Electoral Commission for the republican parliamentary elections, which was held in Tashkent today.

It was reported that 9,385,740 voters, or 93.5 per cent of those listed, took part in the ballot. The elections took place in 499 constituencies. In 388 of them were elected people's deputies who were registered at the election commission center. Repeat balloting will take place in 95 constituencies, and repeat elections in 36. In one constituency, where a candidate for a deputy's mandate stood down the day before the election, new elections have been arranged.

'No Tension' Observed

LD2202145290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The results of the elections of people's deputies of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on 18 February have been summed up. The Central Electoral Commission registered 368 people's deputies. In all, 500 deputies are due to be represented in the republic's Supreme Soviet. Of the remaining candidates, deputies will be elected after repeat ballotting and repeat elections.

On the eve, and on the actual day, of the elections foreign radio stations carried various fabrications about alleged disturbances and protest demonstrations in certain towns of the republic and even the imposition of a curfew in Samarkand. The best argument against these false reports was the participation in the elections of more than 9 million people, 93.5 percent of the whole electorate. Everywhere the elections passed in a businesslike and calm atmosphere, and no tension was observed.

'Quiet, Businesslike' Atmosphere

LD2202202190 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Tashkent February 22 TASS—The election returns have been summed up in Uzbekistan. The elections of people's deputies of the Uzbek Republic were held on Sunday, February 18.

Analysing the protocols the Central Electoral Commission registered 368 deputies. Altogether, there must be 500 deputies in the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The other deputies will be elected after run-off elections or new elections. Not one of the candidates earned a half of the number of votes in 36 districts. New elections will be held there.

Run-off elections will be held in 95 districts, where more than two candidates ran, and not one of them was elected.

The voter turnout was over nine million people, or 93.5 per cent of the total number of voters.

Elections everywhere were held in a quiet businesslike atmosphere, there was no tension.

There are 42 women among the 368 deputies registered by the Central Electoral Commission. There are 50 workers among the deputies. They make up 13.6 per cent of the number of deputies. There are 25 collective farmers, or 6.8 per cent of the number of deputies.

The elections showed that despite numerous difficulties and shortcomings, the party's prestige remains high. There are 348 party members and candidate members among the elected deputies, or 94.6 per cent.

People of 17 nationalities residing in Uzbekistan were elected to the republic's supreme body of authority.

Uzbek Decree on Demonstrations in Force

LD2202114290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] It has been reported from Tashkent that the decree of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on regulating the organization and holding of gatherings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations in the republic has come into force. The Presidium has resolved temporarily, until the sociopolitical situation in Uzbekistan has stabilized, not to permit street processions and demonstrations, and to hold sanctioned railies and gatherings according to established procedure and only indoors.

Uzbeks Demand Eviction of Meskhet Turks

LD2202114690 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Feb 90

[From "INTERFAX" feature of "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] A correspondent of the independent INTERFAX agency reports from Uzbekistan that on 20 February, in the settlement of (Karabak) in Bukinskiy Rayon in Tashkent Oblast, more than 1,000 young Uzbeks who had assembled in the central square demanded the immediate eviction of Meskhetian Turks living in the settlement. To avoid a worsening of the situation, the Uzbekistan leadership adopted a decision to evacuate them to the "Ten Years of October" sanatorium, situated in the neighboring rayon. The evacuees and the militia protecting them were attacked by a crowd; four militiamen were injured. At the present time, thousands of Meskhetian Turks who left Uzbekistan in June 1989 are living in various oblasts of Russia. However, Meskhetian Turks hope to return to their historic homeland, situated on the territory of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kirghiz Leaders Meet With Crowd at Rally

90US0566B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 p 1

[Kirghiz Telegraph Agency report: "What Happened in the Square?"]

[Text] In recent days, conversations about an event which supposedly occurred in Central Square in the

republic's capital have been heard in the streets, on the buses, and in the enterprises of Frunze. Phone calls with questions about it have been received in newspaper editorial offices as well.

Indeed, what happened?

On the evening of 25 January, a group of students, young people mislead by extremist-minded persons, gathered in the square. Rumors to the effect that, supposedly, 1,000 refugees from Azerbaijan were arriving in Kirghizia and to whom apartments were supposedly being allocated from the housing stock of the city of Frunze were the main pretext. Those assembled protested against this in the belief that a mass relocation of these families to the republic would exacerbate the housing problem even more.

U. Chinaliyev, first secretary of the Frunze Gorkom [City Party Committee], and A. Muraliyev, chairman of the Frunze Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee], and other functionaries of the party and soviet organs of the city who arrived in the square refuted these rumors, the goal of which was clearly provocative—to destabilize the situation and to disturb the peace of the people. Urging them not to give in to emotions, A. Muraliyev said that as of that time only one family of a serviceman had arrived in the city and it had been put up by relatives. He also responded to other questions, including those on the implementation of the Law on the Language.

However, some extremist elements continued to stir up the young people on the following day as well. They went to colleges and dormitories, spread fabrications, and advocated taking to the streets again. On the evening of 26 January, several hundred deceived young people screaming out their old demands gathered in Central Square.

M. Aseyinov, first deputy chairman of the KiSSR [Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and A. Muraliyev, chairman of the Frunze Gorispolkom, spoke to them once again and provided official clarification of all issues. It was stated that false information which does not reflect the actual situation had been slipped to the young people. The arrival of refugees in the republic was not envisaged or planned, as certain irresponsible individuals who were pursuing sinister goals were trying to maintain.

Speakers from among those gathered in the square also raised questions dealing with social issues and those of everyday life and demanded that the construction of housing and other facilities in the social sphere be speeded up. The city leaders informed the audience of the measures taken to solve the problems of housing and everyday life which are of concern to young workers and students.

The party, soviet, and economic organs are aware of the requirements and needs of the people and are doing everything in order to meet them sooner. However, these issues should be resolved in a calm and businesslike environment rather than at rallies; they should not be resolved by emotions and yelling.

No disturbance of the peace in the square was allowed to occur on 25 and 26 January.

Kirghiz KGB Chairman on 'Stable' Situation

90US0566A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 p 1

[Kirghiz Telegraph Agency report: "Meeting at Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic KGB"]

[Text] The further the perestroyka processes have developed, the more open the operation of the organs of state security has become. This was discussed on 19 January at a meeting with representatives of the mass media and correspondents of central publications at the KiSSR [Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB.

Zh. Asankulov, chairman of the KiSSR KGB, spoke to those assembled.

He outlined the political situation in the republic which is marked on the whole by calm and a stable environment. Party and soviet organs and public organizations do much to improve the socioeconomic position of the workers and reinforce friendship among the representatives of all nations and ethnic groups residing in Soviet Kirghizia.

Taking the opinion of the people into account and having a continuous dialogue with them helps anticipate eventual points of social tension and resolve acute issues with dispatch, thus preventing the development of conflicts. This was the case last year when issues associated with housing conditions, the state language, and other aspects of social and economic life were discussed in a quite stormy manner in a number of labor collectives. Correct solutions which are permeated by the spirit of respecting the interests of various social groups and aimed at developing interethnic relations were found on the basis of mutual understanding and considerable explanatory work.

To be sure, observed the speaker, some people do not like this calm environment. It seems to some people that perestroyka in the republic is advancing slowly since there are no mass rallies or demonstrations by informal groups. However, at present the success of perestroyka hinges on the harmonious work of every labor collective and every worker rather than on some dubious actions. Calm, order, and discipline are necessary for fruitful creative work.

Along with the law enforcement organs, the Chekists of the republic are called upon to ensure such order. As was noted at the meeting, perestroyka has also greatly affected the KGB organs which work for the good and calm of Soviet people. Their strength is in their reinforced bond with the people, in the development of democratization and the enhancement of glasnost.

Zh. Asankulov responded to numerous questions asked by journalists.

Further Reports on Transcaucasus Situation

Baku Relatively Peaceful

NC2302110490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Announcer-read report]

[Text] Dear listeners, good evening. There were no serious changes in the situation in Baku throughout the past day. The situation is relatively peaceful. Nine crimes were recorded in the city on 20 February. One concerned the theft of state property, five concerned the theft of citizens' personal property from their houses, and the remainder were other crimes. Money and gold ornaments were stolen from the house of Gasanov, who lives in Sabandzhi town in Baku's (?Beyna) district, today. Burglaries also occurred in Narimanov district during the day.

In view of the rising number of burglaries, we advise city residents to use alarms and other technical devices to better protect their houses. Individuals who committed burglary in Nizami district were arrested as a result of the operations carried out by the employees of the district's internal affairs organ. The arrested individuals are: Seferaliyev Bakhman Ibragim ogly, who was born in 1960, is unemployed, and resides at apartment No. 47 in building No. 55 on [name indistinct] Street; and Kyazimov Salman (?Dede ogly), who was born in 1973, is unemployed, and resides at apartment No. 5 in building No. 8 on Nakhichevan Street.

The employees of the [word indistinct] continue to struggle against those who are seeking illicit gains. The workers of the internal affairs organs in Nizami and Nasimi districts have arrested Geydarov [name indistinct], who was born in 1961, is currently unemployed, and lives in [name indistinct] town; and Mukhtarov [name indistinct] Pasha ogly, who was born in 1954 and who works [words indistinct] at watch factory No. 86, while they were [words indistinct].

We urge drivers to obey road signs to avert accidents in view of the weather.

Together with the military commandant's headquarters, the leading officials of the Baku City internal affairs administration have drawn up and put into effect a list of measures to stabilize the situation and improve life in the city. A total of 43 individuals were detained for various offenses over the past day: 28 for violating the curfew, eight for violating the decree on the state of emergency, six for violating the passport regulations, and one for committing a crime. Thank you.

Nakhichevan Stabilizing

LD2102123290 Moscow World Service in Russian 1041 GMT 21 Feb 90

[From "INTERFAX" feature of "Soviet Union Day by Day program]

[Text] The INTERFAX correspondent reports from the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic that the situation on the Soviet-Iranian border is continuing to stabilize. Troops of the Trancaucasus Border District are in full control [polnostyu kontroliruyut] of the situation along almost the entire length of the Soviet-Iranian border in Azerbaijan. The line conducted by the border troops, namely of restraining excesses and preventing an exacerbation of the situation, has shown itself to be justified. It is true, attempts to cross the border illegaly are still occurring: Every 24 hours there can be over 400 such attempts, but they are nipped in the bud. Cases of armed attacks on border detachments have been registered. However, the provocations met with no success. As the INTERFAX correspondent reports, the traditional friendly contacts between border troops and the population have been resumed. The inhabitants of the nearby villages help arrest those who violate the borders.

Azerbaijan Border Violations

90UN0985A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Feb 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General I. Korobeynikov, commander of Central Asian border district, by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondents Yu. Kozlovskiy and T. Rustemov; place and date not given: "Democracy on Border—What Does It Look Like in Our Days?"]

[Text] **Perestroyka is changing our ideas of everything including the state borders. Is it possible that with the removal of "iron curtains" we do not need to guard the distant borders? The recent events in Azerbaijan cast doubts on the very idea of the inviolable border as it was broken through along a considerable length. How should we treat these events? Our special correspondents posed those questions to the commander of the Red Banner Central Asian border district, Lieutenant General I. Korobeynikov.**

[Korobeynikov] I served in Azerbaijan and I know well the location where the border was violated. One cannot have but one opinion about this action: The honor of the country is at stake. The border guards are, I think, just the means to protect the frontiers. According to the Law on State Borders and to the border guards' regulations, the stability of the borders is defined by the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The state border, in the words of the definition, "is the line and the vertical plane based on that line which define the limits of the USSR territory, its land, water, and underground and air spaces.

But this line is not just a geometric notion; it signifies the lives and destinies of people and entire countries as the relations at the border are always bilateral. In the case of Azerbaijan it was not merely the line of separation from Iran that was violated, but also our bilateral agreements. This caused legitimate concern by the Iranian side.

I do not understand the statements made by one of the leaders of the USSR Supreme Soviet who visited the area and declared that the border zone devoured people's fertile lands, monuments, and other civilian objects. Border guards cannot use an inch of land to set up construction and protection zones without a decision by the Supreme Soviet itself. We should start examining the problem with the cause and not with the result. For that, I think, bilateral and even multilateral negotiations between countries need to be conducted and the corresponding coordinated decisions should be adopted at the highest levels. One cannot get emotional when dealing with security under the conditions where two bordering countries coexist. Even less so we can query the notion of inviolable borders as stated within the limits of the existing agreements.

But then how can we talk about the government of legal norms if one of its basic laws is being violated? Unfortunately, lately we have witnessed numerous occasions when the laws are broken or not observed, including the laws recently adopted by the Supreme Soviet. In other words, we can say that the state organs became less demanding in their attitude towards the enforcers and that is against the principles of a legal state.

[Correspondents] But the events at the border between Azerbaijan and Iran made us understand the needs of the people in the border regions better and also made us take the necessary measures, did they not?

[Korobeynikov] This impression is based purely on emotions, but the facts prove something quite different. For instance, they show the warming trend in our relations with Iran and this trend should be credited to the leaders of the two countries. The efforts to strengthen the neighborly relations have brought good results. We have signed a cooperation agreement for the construction of a railroad from Mary through Serakhs, USSR, to Serakhs, Iran. We have also simplified our border relations. Our border guards administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] recently made a proposal for simplified border crossing; and we guard 1619 km that separate us from Iran.

We understand the concern that people felt during the border disturbances because we have chosen a different level of relationship which cannot be made better by the terrorists' actions. We have a service of border commissars who act as our representatives to resolve local problems which involve both sides.

[Correspondents] Democracy and glasnost, however, touch upon all the facets of our social life and they could not pass over the border guards. Do you accept them or reject them as incompatible with military service? Didn't, in your opinion, the Azerbaijan events show how unhappy the people were with the actions of the border guards?

[Korobeynikov] Let us separate right away the Azeri people whom I greatly respect from a few extremists. The people did not violate the border, there should not be any of these nonsensical accusations. The wild actions of the instigators do not serve to illustrate the democratic spirit; they are vulgar acts of hooliganism verging on crime.

Democracy in its true meaning is a desirable phenomenon for our military. We sense it and, what is more, we try to develop it and to reinforce it by taking steps to bring it closer. Border guards are not just the sentries positioned along the frontier. They compose a system, hardly noticeable to an outsider, of military, environmental, sanitary, commercial, and other relations. For instance, there is a foot-and-mouth disease epidemic now in Iran and our goal is not to allow it to spread to our country's territory. Or let us take the development of underground resources whose deposits extend on both sides of the border—our services have to be involved in that too. Stopping the smuggling, mail service, ensuring that economic and everyday services are regularly provided at the border—do you see that the concerns of the border guards cannot be separated from the concerns of the people?

So, we have to give an additional meaning to the notion of a "border under lock": the lock is new now and it needs to be treated with more care and skill. How? With the help of local population and local authorities, among other things.

For instance, together with the people and ispolkom [executive committee] of Gasan-Kuli we decided to relocate the electric alarm system. Now the local farms can keep their water craft on the local canal. They profited from this and we did not lose anything; but what a respect for the border guards! In Termez we rebuilt an artificial obstacle system to allow the people an access to the al-Termezi mausoleum. Long before the Azerbaijan incident we proposed to the government to reduce the border zones to make it better for the population like, for instance, in the region of Krasnovodsk where the people needed special passes. In Termez we were ready to remove the border zoning but the local authorities insisted on preserving it. Try to see our point: the fewer fences we have, the fewer violations there are. Even if we think about drug smuggling, most of it took place at the borders during the stagnation period.

[Correspondents] Aren't you afraid that the democratic freedoms will decrease the combat readiness of the military? A number of the military are already talking about such fears.

[Korobeynikov] I am sure, there is no danger of this for the border guards. Let me quote a well-known phrase: "It is not everyone that can be entrusted with treading on the last meter of Soviet territory." We do not enlist

people who have been on trial before; neither do we accept some other categories. The border guards are strong with the traditional spirit of stern romanticism where everyday service verges on risking your life. Try to walk around for some time, wearing a helmet and a bulletproof vest, in the sands where the sun broils you at the temperature of up to 70 degrees [centigrade]. But our soldiers would not break the regulations and they would always look their best at any time of the year: danger is very near.

The best human qualities of these men are tested by their service day and night. For that reason I have not witnessed among the border troops any great degree of hazing or other negative phenomena that are often described in the press. And when the need arose to send our detachments into the thick of events in Azerbaijan we had to make up both the units and the command from volunteers—there were so many of them.

The border service itself is so full that it leaves neither time nor reason for doubtful adventures and pleasures.

[Correspondents] Is it possible that the special "front line" status of the Central Asian Border District, due to the events in Afghanistan, left its imprint on all of this?

[Korobeynikov] It did, without a doubt, as we were guarding the border from the other side too. That is, our details were acting instead of the Afghan border guards which did not bother too much at the time to secure the borders. The combat missions were done by our forces and hardware. Even now the situation there is far from simple. So there is no room for any window-dressing or superficial effectiveness in our service. You know how many people were detained while crossing the border, you know about the mine clearing at the border; the border was even shelled in the vicinity of Pyandzh. Recently the trial of A. Davlyatov ended. Davlyatov, a resident of Tajikistan, was sent here from Pakistan to set up an anti-Soviet underground network.

[Correspondents] What is your opinion, then, about the idea of a professional Army?

[Korobeynikov] We are very grateful to the workers for the way they prepare good young soldiers. But still we should aim to have a professional Army. The problem lies in terms and state possibilities of monetary compensation to the privates. Even the officers, I think, have some room to improve their professional level and to shed some outdated methods. For instance, in the Romanian Army one has to take serious tests and to get a special certificate in order to become a captain. With us the right to a rank comes together with the position. That should not be the way in a professional army.

[Correspondents] Ivan Mikhaylovich, what does the border mean to you personally?

[Korobeynikov] It is my life and my destiny. And it also is the might of our great Union which should be reinforced according to Lenin's principles of a federation. Our fathers did a good job for us. Do we have the right to throw away our riches? The Union within the limits of its secure borders—this is what I stand for.

Stolen Weapons, Refugees

NC2302114590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry is concerned over the considerable number of arms which still remain in the hands of irresponsible people. This concern is justified, as shown by the latest ministry report on the occasional shooting incidents. One [word indistinct] was wounded in Shirakskiy Rayon. On the same day a youth engaged in lawlessness was detained in Yerevan and found to possess a pistol [passage indistinct]. At present, the priority for the internal affairs organs is crime prevention. Measures are being taken to recover the stolen weapons. However, so far this effort is not always producing satisfactory results.

In addition to this issue, the participants in a meeting of the Operational Staff also focused attention on the need to improve the work related to the resettlement of refugees. [Words indistinct] a draft law being drawn up for this purpose. The implementation of this law will help resolve the enormous social problems facing tens of thousands of refugees. This draft law is being drawn up by government and public organizations. The refugees are given considerable help as regards their settlement and job placement according to their specialization. In this regard the republic's Health Ministry is a good example. Housing is the most acute problem faced by the refugees. It has been decided to make an inventory of houses in Yerevan and the other cities of the republic [words indistinct] to determine which houses been unoccupied for years [passage indistinct].

According to a report from the Communications Ministry, the reception of Armenian television (?in Stepanakert) [words indistinct] has not been ensured.

Blockade, Disaster Relief

LD2202134590 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] INTERFAX's correspondent reports from Armenia that the railway blockade by Azerbaijan prevented 117,500 freight cars, more than 6 million tonnes of food stuffs and consumer goods, fuel, components and construction materials from reaching Armenia.

In Leninakan, situated in the earthquake disaster area, housing construction is far behind schedule. Originally it was planned to commission homes having a total floor space of 800,000 square meters. In reality, little more than 1,000 square meters of housing have been built. In 1989, 2.5 million tonnes of cargos failed to be delivered to the disaster area. All construction and restoration work has been suspended.

Train Arrivals

NC2302112690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 23 GMT 0700 90

[Text] A total of 10 trains bound for both Armenia and Azerbaijan crossed through the Norashen junction of Azerbaijan railways early this morning. After this exchange, the number of trains entering Azerbaijan fell. At present, six trains loaded with machinery and other industrial goods are waiting at the Yeraskh and Ararat stations.

Six trains with a total of 288 freight cars entered through Idzhevan on 22 February. The freight included 60 tanks of benzine, 78 tanks of fuel oil, and 66 cars of construction materials and cement.

Sixteen trains with a total of 449 freight cars were received through the Transcaucasian railways of Georgia. The freight included 127 tanks of benzine, 47 of fuel oil, nine of diesel fuel, and 48 cars of cereals and other goods.

Nakhichevan Train Movement

NC2302104590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] A report from Nakhichevan says that the movement of trains in the direction of Mindzhivan, Dzhul'fa, Norashen, and Matis has resumed after an interruption of [word indistinct] days. Meanwhile, trains have moved from Minzhivan to Kafan and to and from the direction of Iran. The mechanical workers at the Dzhul'fa locomotive depot, after being fully assured on the question of security by the military troops, have said that they will do everything they can to contribute toward rectifying the grave economic situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The situation is peaceful along the section of the tracks which crosses through Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon. The 45-km-long stretch is being effectively controlled by the military troops. The workers of the Nakhichevan railways network have completely repaired the damaged signal lines.

An AZERINFORM correspondent was informed at the Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee that the movement of trains has raised the morale of the people of the autonomous republic. Tension has subsided to a certain extent. However, transportation services and industrial, construction, and agroindustrial establishments are not working at full capacity. Classes have not resumed at all schools. Flights are maintaining the links of the people of Nakhichevan with Baku and the other rayons in Azerbaijan through flights.

Bus Attack Avoided

NC2302103690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 22 Feb 90

[From republican press review]

[Text] Those who incite interethnic discord in Agdam are again resorting to their provocative activities. This is confirmed by a report published in the republic's newspapers under the heading [words indistinct]. The report said that a handmade explosive was thrown at a passenger bus on the Shusha-Agdam road in the territory of Stepanakert. However, passenger (?Sayed) Gasanov, an employee at the [word indistinct] in Shusha, risked his own life by picking up the explosive and throwing it out of the bus. The device exploded in the air. The lives of 32 passengers were saved by the courage displayed by the [word indistinct] worker.

Armenian 'United Front'

NC2202124790 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 90

[From republican press review]

[Text] The representatives of 34 Armenian public organizations operating in Armenia and the USSR met in Armenia in January to establish the United Front for Pan-Armenian Struggle [Hamahaykakan Paykari Miatsyal Chakat] to participate in the solution of urgent problems facing the Armenian nation.

HAYRENIKY DZAYN weekly reports that the meeting issued a declaration calling on all forces in Armenia and the Armenian diaspora in the Soviet Union and abroad to mobilize and support the United Front for Pan-Armenian Struggle.

Economic

Miners Roundtable To Discuss Gorbachev Meeting

904F0086 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Report by V. Badov and V. Kachurin on RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA roundtable discussion with miners representing the strike committees of the main coal basins of the country: "We Will Not Turn Our Backs on Perestroyka"]

[Text] **We have already reported that on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum M.S. Gorbachev met with the miners representing the strike committees of the country's main coal basins. Immediately after the meeting a group of miners visited the editorial offices of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA where at a roundtable they continued the frank discussion that took place in the CPSU Central Committee. The miners' first impressions from their meeting with M.S. Gorbachev were printed in the newspaper for 4 February. Today, presenting the participants in the roundtable, we are completing the publication of its materials. Among them are Vladimir Oksen, tunneler at the mine Leninskiy Komsomol of the Ukraine, from Pavlograd; Vladimir Smolenskikh, mining master of the mine Kostenko of the Karagandaugol production association and secretary of the oblast worker strike committee; Leonid Krivenda, miner at the stope of the mine 60-letiye Leninskiy**

Komsomol of Rostov Oblast; Nikolay Pastukhov, excavator operator of the Yakutugol production association; Sh. Sheykhakhmedov, miner of the Yuzhnaya mine, member of the Vorkuta city strike committee.

And so what was the subject of discussion at the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA roundtable before the plenum at which the CPSU Central Committee's draft platform for the 28th Party Congress was discussed? What is keeping perestroyka from advancing more strongly and resolutely? The miners raised the question this way and they wanted a frank answer.

It is typical that it was not any additional benefits, not higher wages (although are they ever superfluous?), and not a desire to squeeze any more out for the enterprise or the branch—whether economic advantages or social benefits—that disturbed the representatives of the strike committees, but the destiny of the country, the slowness of perestroyka, which now seems as though it were dead.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] So is it true that your demands are only political in nature?

[V. Smolenskikh] We are frequently accused of hogging the covers of our long-suffering economy which is all in patches to begin with. But we must not exaggerate the interests of the worker who is supposedly thinking only about himself. From Decree No. 608 and—the main thing—from the situation that has developed in the country, we understood that none of our economic problems could be solved apart from political ones, and that the solutions to them were being impeded in all ways by the command-administrative system, that powerful superstructure which stands between the workers in production and the country's government. In a way it is like a broken telephone because the nature of the information is constantly changing. We were convinced of this by the recent all-union conference of representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and engineering and technical personnel in whose organization, as in the times of stagnation, one could sense an air of showiness. This is why we decided to try to get a meeting with M.S. Gorbachev directly.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Well, did you manage to tell him the truth?

[Sh. Sheykhakhmedov] The conversation lasted until 3:30 am and, in my opinion, we told him everything we were thinking about. About the party, which is losing its authority, and about the former leaders who brought our country to this condition. It is thought that since they have gone on a pension they have nothing to worry about. And we would like for each of them to be given an evaluation so that the workers will know personally who is responsible for the increase in crime, the economic chaos, and the fact that we have nothing to eat or drink... We assured him that he could boldly rely on the working class in perestroyka. We must bring it to completion. But this is a turning point and we have been standing still for four years now...

[N. Pastukhov] I would like to clarify at once that we are not talking about demands. We have not come to demand but to speak constructively, to find points in common so that we can work on perestroyka together. This is actually the third time the work commission has come here. The boys have worn out more than one pair of shoes running around Moscow to various offices and through the corridors of the Ministry of Finance and the Gosplan [State Planning Commission]. We understand that Decree No. 608 was generated in a hurry so as to put a stop to these social cataclysms... This is why it is progressing with great difficulty. Both the very logic of events and the experience we have acquired have convinced us, our small parliament, that unless the political and economic structures that exist today are broken down there is no possibility of implementing Decree No. 608...

But still we have difficulty with politics. There is one person among us—I shall not give his name—who, when he met N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, started asking for pipes, screws, and so forth. I must admit that I was ashamed of him... I was afraid to look at Ryzhkov—after all, he is terribly busy and what a level to go to to demand screws and bolts...

And to be frank, as of today we do not feel that the government or Politburo either has any real power. Why? Because the real power is in the hands of those who control the funds. Take the Gosplan, which is like the senior member of a tribe—there they divide up everything we get and produce. I am not accusing the Gosplan of bribery, corruption, and so forth, but the very structure, the structure of the economy today contributes to corruption, the Mafia, and the like. Those who are in control of the funds dictate everything. And the government is in a very difficult position today. Its decisions are simply not being carried out.

In a word, whether we like it or not we are all in the role of supplicants and everyone is trying to get his piece of the common pie. But the miners who are accused of taking all the covers turned out to be above that. One might say that we have matured as politicians. And regarding the all-union conference, we told Mikhail Sergeyevich that this unsuccessful propaganda show caused harm to the workers...

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Were the questions of the election campaign and the struggle for power raised?

[N. Pastukhov] The essence of the problem is that as of today the leaders of the "golden" middle level and the local party and soviet workers have sometimes simply boycotted perestroyka. There is a real battle but it is not at the front, not at the leading edge, but on the sly. And the election campaign shows this. They do whatever it takes in the local areas, they run in the quiet back waters, and they are elected in proud solitude. For instance, for the elections of USSR people's deputies, the first secretary of our obkom [oblast party committee], as a matter of conscience or of honor, should have run in the place

where he lives, where there are the most communists, namely Yakutsk. He ran in some out-of-the-way place and I am not sure where he would have been elected—I know the situation in the republic. But they have their own methods. They have their own sense of honor and morality and their own art of persuasion.

I too was nominated as a candidate deputy, but I had 22 opponents and most of them were no lower than the manager of a trust. How do we fight for a deputy mandate if we are placed in unequal conditions? My opponents had an immense number of personnel, various services, transportation, and so forth. But what do I, an ordinary excavator operator, have? Many workers have ended up in the same position.

[Sh. Sheykhakhmedov] I think even Mikhail Sergeyevich is unaware of 40-50 percent of what is going on in our state. The information he gets is imprecise and sometimes it is deliberately distorted because there are still plenty of people who will embellish the truth...

[B. Oksen] This in particular is what motivated us to come here and take radical measures in order to meet with leaders of the party and government. To be honest, there has been a destabilization in the local areas. Can you imagine how much has piled up in the minds of the people or how they have lost faith in their party and their government? When we first gathered here we decided to go through the various levels gradually, beginning with the minister, deputy minister and higher in order to find out why this happened and what the party and government are doing in order to at least calm the people down and find ways out of the situation that has been created. N.I. Ryzhkov admitted that there have been mistakes and omissions and practically two years have been lost. But how can one experiment if the results are reflected in living people?

[L. Krivenda] The leaders who are responsible for the breakup of the country have been sent into contented retirement. We are bothered by the fact that even now the specific guilty parties are not being named or, if they are not guilty, at least they are the people specifically responsible for various decisions that were not justified. We in Rostov Oblast were very much affected by the last rash order to mobilize the reservists because of the extraordinary situation in Baku. Alas, some of the reservists called from our area were killed and wounded. I know that even in 1937 they probably did not gather them up this way, during the night, with trucks full of militia. It reached the point of being absurd. The people had different reactions to this. There were strikes in the mines. The women were very disturbed and "dammed up" the entire central street. I asked Mikhail Sergeyevich a question: Who is responsible for these actions, for there was no order for mobilization, there was only an order for extraordinary measures to restore law and order in Baku. Who made the decision to mobilize? He admitted that we had made a mess of things, but the specific individual who made the decision is still unnamed.

[V. Oksen] Another serious issue was touched on here: rendering aid to developing countries. Why do we accommodate them when we ourselves are in such critical condition. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that these relations are now being revised. We are switching over to equivalent exchange although previously, yes, there were excesses in this issue. Beginning next year we will be trading with the socialist countries in world prices. Incidentally, we have lower prices for coal and other valuable raw materials, which causes the profitability of the coal industry to be low.

Revising prices for our coal is a serious issue. The coal sales service is now being placed in the hands of the people who extract the coal. The miners have been trying for this for a long time. The other day we were informed that there would be an increase in the price of coal. Of course we must weigh this question from all sides and objectively. How will the higher coal prices affect other branches of industry and the entire national economy? For example, fuel prices and rates for shipping by rail and for electric energy were raised recently, and the metallurgists were immediately worse off, which destabilized the situation in the branch. We must act cautiously here.

[Sh. Sheykhakhmedov] I have something to add regarding rendering assistance to other countries. There is a curious detail that Mikhail Sergeyevich gave. When he came to the leadership of the Politburo he learned that during the past five-year plan one of the fraternal countries had been given $2 billion in aid. And when they began to look for the documents it turned out that they did not exist. It turned out that our money, our wealth, was being squandered right and left, and nobody was keeping track of it.

[N. Pastukhov] Healthy democratic forces—I emphasize healthy because we have many political hooligans—these forces are prepared to participate in the political structures of society. I have in mind primarily the workers' movement. It should be given the right to participate in the development of decisions concerning which road society should take. The workers' movement must be helped to develop a program that defends the rights and interests of the working man. I think we must help to organize common human values for the workers' movement.

[V. Smolenskikh] Apparently M.S. Gorbachev did not have complete information about today's workers' movement. He advised us authorized workers' committees to stick together with all the perestroyka forces in the country. Boys, join the trade union committees and labor collective councils, all the organs there may be. And for our part we told him we are always prepared to lend a hand to perestroyka and give support to Gorbachev. But somebody apparently gave him an incorrect, distorted idea of the miners' attitude. Incidentally, certain of the mass media contributed to this in their day as well. At first one might say that Mikhail Sergeyevich was delighted by the fact that the miners were civilized

during the strike, that there were no disturbances, and that discipline was maintained at a high level. But subsequently somebody apparently had to report on what was taking place and presented us in a bad light, and then in the press there began to appear hints about the notorious "covers" which we were supposed to have been hogging. But take Decree No. 608, the law on pensions and vacations—is this just for miners? There is a package of draft laws for the entire national economy. Our comrades helped to prepare this package. I am more than convinced that were it not for the miners' actions this package of draft laws would have been gathering dust on the shelf for five more years.

[L. Krivenda] And the expanded list of occupational diseases? Does it pertain just to miners? No, it pertains to everyone.

[V. Smolenskikh] I would say that the press is also learning. And it also varies, the press. Even two years ago they did not even want to hear about informal groups. But now they are beginning to understand that we will never get anywhere without dialogue and cooperation with them. And yet it was necessary to bring events to a white hot condition before the party authorities understood this. A miner is a bright person. You cannot knock him off the mark with any demagogy. We had so many of these emissaries from there during the strikes. But did they lead anybody around blindly? Do you really think we are such blockheads that we would do whatever we are told even if they try to incite us to ransack the raykom [rayon party committee] or gorkom [city party committee]!

[V. Oksen] There used to be a phrase that was widely used: The way we work is the way we live. But does a miner have four hands so that with the same labor intensiveness he can manage to produce more at the working face? We raised this question in our discussion with Mikhail Sergeyevich. Judge for yourself, do you think the miner's work has become worse? The metallurgist has not started to work any worse either. Or the machine builder either, but they do not live as well as they used to. Gorbachev replied that this should definitely not be interpreted as meaning that we should work our tails off. On the contrary, we should rely on highly productive technical equipment and make our labor easier. But what new management methods can there be if there is no legal foundation for them?

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] The roots of the unfavorable situation lie in the branch economy. For during the past 10 years labor productivity in the coal industry has dropped by almost half. And it has dropped not because of smaller investments of labor but because of the technical backwardness of the branch on top of the deterioration of mining and geological conditions. And these things together produced the decline in output. And this is the way it will continue until economic relations change. Now this process of the entire branch sliding downward is being covered by state subsidies. This cannot be limitless. The apparatus of the Ministry of the Coal Industry is trying to put a stop to the decline in the effectiveness of state subsidies—although it is inevitable—by freezing the real earnings of the miners. Actually, this is not even an economic issue but a political one. A change in the entire structure of relations of economic accountability in the branch.

[V. Oksen] By 10 September we must develop practical recommendations for making the mines, strip mines, and associations independent. Well all right, we can develop the recommendations and send them around, say, to all the mines. But what is the point if they are stillborn? The Supreme Soviet has not yet adopted laws on ownership. So far there is no political solution to this problem. Everyone understands this, and Mikhail Sergeyevich was asked this question. He promised that at the spring session of parliament these questions would be among the most important and would be the focal point.

[N. Pastukhov] I shall talk briefly about the situation we have in Yakutia. If we look at all the informal movements we have here we do not see any serious people in them. Everything is done for a cheap political effect. For example, members of informal movements have inflamed many passions around some diamond and interpreted this as a tribute to the times of stagnation. Do you really not have different concerns and problems now? I do not want to criticize the intelligentsia. When Afanasyev speaks, when Selyunin or Shmelev speaks, they have common sense, but do they take the risk when they propose radical measures? For if we make another mistake in selecting the means for curing our society and economy, all this will lie on our shoulders—there is the rub.

[Sh. Sheykhakhmedov] I represent Vorkuta. M.S. Gorbachev told me at the meeting that the strike committees allegedly had some uncompromising attitudes. I did not agree with him... Now about our attitude toward the informal groups. When the strike began the Communist Party did nothing; it stood on the sidelines. But when the strike got going everybody and his brother came through Vorkuta: the Russian Front, and the Democratic Union [DS], and others. And our guests from Nagorno Karabakh also began to demand of the Vorkuta workers that I be expelled from the strike committee for the simple reason that I am an Azerbaijani although, as I have already said, I am actually a Dagestani! We even rejected the money they offered for assistance—50,000—although the strikers needed money since they were not receiving wages. We do not need your money, get out of here if you have come to sow discord.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Summing up the results of the roundtable, we should perhaps emphasize the main thing and recall how the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and the miners ended. "I know that perestroyka will not take place," he noted, "if the working man, the laborer, remains indifferent to it. Therefore I state simply that we need your support, we need it more than

anything else! Mainly political support, but of course, we also need support in the organization and development of perestroyka processes."

This was the answer to the main question which the miners raised, as they say, point blank. Of no less importance, it seems to us, is M.S. Gorbachev's attitude toward the workers' movement which he expressed as the meeting with the miners came to an end. "It seems that the workers' movement is called upon to enrich the restructuring of the party, the restructuring of the soviets, and the restructuring of the economic apparatus. It is precisely here that the best forces of the workers' movement should come. This will enrich and instill life into the very mechanism for party functioning, the state apparatus, the soviets, and other social organizations... Let us do this together. So that you will have a sense of our position and our understanding and so that we shall have a sense of your support."

And one more important result of this meeting. As you know, 10 miners participated in the plenum of the CPCU Central Committee at the request of MS. Gorbachev. And this invitation to the plenum in and of itself in effect dispelled the myth that the CPSU is closed off and separate from the people. It is necessary in the future as well to unite and strengthen efforts in the struggle for the renewal of society. For without support from below, perestroyka, which was initiated from above, is doomed to failure.

tion for Price Hikes

904A0191A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[V. Mamontov article: "A Lesson in Agreement"]

[Text] Let us recall the essence of the dispute: The government resolved to increase wholesale prices for diesel fuel, freight transportation and electricity tariffs, and deductions for social security beginning this year. This measure caused an extremely sharp response in labor collectives because it will bring about reducing the profits of enterprise and cut into the remuneration, financial incentives, and social development funds.

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] interceded on behalf of those "wronged," and we should give it credit: The trade unions have shown that they are genuine defenders of the interests of toilers. An interunion commission which was set up issued, putting it plainly, an ultimatum: Either the government revokes its decision or "in the process of signing collective contracts for 1990 the labor collectives will be compelled to resort to the USSR Law On Procedures for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)." This was the resolution, and it was accompanied by 18 signatures of the representatives of trade union committees and trade unions to which an overwhelming majority of the industrial workers of our country belong.

Let us omit from our discussion the issue of whether it is ethical to resort to "the strike argument." We live in a new social and legal environment, and the trade unionists are referring to a quite legitimate right rather than "intimidating." However, the answer is: Are mutual accusations helpful in our case?

At first sight, the answer is unambiguous. Yesterday (10 February), the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on compensation for the costs entailed by the introduction of the new prices and tariffs was discussed in the auditorium of the AUCCTU Presidium at a meeting of of the inter-union commission. After a most heated discussion, the Council of Ministers acknowledged that it had failed to take all consequences of its price demarche into account. Therefore, did the trade unions "win?"

V. Pavlov, member of the commission, USSR people's deputy, and worker- farrier from Novocherkassk, responded to my question as follows: "I believe we still have something to fight for. Compensation should be full..."

I was tempted to add: "...and unconditional." Indeed, why should some Namanganvodstroy Trust suffer more than 5 million rubles in losses, abandoning the construction of a day-care center, a preventive treatment facility, a pioneer camp? The profits of the Volgogradstroymaterialy Association will decrease so much that the fund of social development will not be accumulated at all. Economic managers are yelling: "Give us compensation" while adding up in the loss column the fines paid for incomplete deliveries and losses due to their own mismanagement. As it turned out in the course of a detailed review, many of the "victims of fire" set their plans too low, refused to accept state orders, and did not sign contracts. Alas, we have to admit that some people decided to haggle for an easy life for themselves in the course of the commotion.

"We are not going to have this kind of life"—this is how USSR Minister of Finance V. Pavlov described the situation in the economy during the discussion at the AUCCTU.

He called the government measures forced, albeit unpopular. The minister interprets them, and for a good reason, as a device for advancing the reforms, a method which makes economic managers save electricity and fuel. He quoted statistics and facts which describe the complexity of the situation in industry, and the audience fell silent. All of those present felt their responsibility and concern for the affairs of the country.

However, this can hardly justify organizational miscalculations: No matter what the Ministry of Finance, the State Planning Committee, and the USSR State Committee for Prices were guided by when they considered the price novelties, they carried it out using an old blueprint. The primary miscalculation was in the fact that the trade unions were entirely left out of the development of these measures and did not become the aides and advisers of the government. The minister of finance

was right in observing that in the future such issues should be resolved together.

This idea was supported by A. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, AUCCTU Chairman S. Shalayev who spoke at the meeting of the commission. Reconciling the interests of the state and those of labor collectives is not a simple task. It is one hundred times more complicated if it starts with mutual ultimatums. "This means tripping up the reform"—this is how the trade unionists portrayed the measures of the government. The Ministry of Finance countered: "The issue has been blown out of proportion artificially."

Only a dialogue revealed the truth. The device of prices cannot slow down social development, but it cannot be used to cover up one's own lack of dispatch either. Both the conflict itself and its outcome taught us one more lesson about the value of agreement and a reasonable compromise.

Workers Reject Outcome of Government Commission

904F0092A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent V. Parshintsev: "Living by Their Own Wits"]

[Text] A government commission worked in the Kuzbass for two weeks. It studied in detail the execution of the protocol on coordinated measures signed by the regional strike committee and the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] in July of last year in the city of Prokopyevsk.

Members of the commission visited 13 mining cities. Apart from this, they studied the demands of iron and steel industry workers, chemical industry and railway personnel. According to an estimate by my journalist-colleagues, about 700 points of city and industry protocols and additional issues which had arisen were considered. Many of them have already been resolved since the strike. Other issues require more work; they are being monitored.

Having acknowledged the contribution of the commission to grasping the problems of the extremely neglected industry and backward social sphere of the oblast, the regional council of the workers' committees of the Kuzbass at the same time considered its actions half-measures. The final document on protocol verification was not signed by both parties.

What is the reason? The main snag is found in several provisions of the July protocol which call for the transition of the oblast to regional economic accountability on 1 January 1990 and economic and legal independence of enterprises.

Those who are familiar with a broad outline of the situation will ask: Why, after all, did the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Councils of Ministers adopt a package of resolutions on the eve of the Prokopyevsk meeting. Giving independence to the region was their subject. What else is needed?

In the Council of Workers' Committees, they agree that there indeed is such a package. However, points found in the drafts have been purged from the documents of this package. It continues to provide for patterns based on the old subsidization-and-distribution principle of management, planning, and the flow of material and financial resources. The enterprises also failed to get a justified settlement price for coal.

This is why the package of resolutions is not popular in the Kuzbass.

Are the workers' committees throwing their weight around yet again? It depends.

After all, at issue is not only the settlement price for fuel but also the transfer of enterprises reporting to the union and the republic to the jurisdiction of local soviets of people's deputies, establishment and future development of market relations, retention of proceeds from import operations within the region, i.e., the things without which independence is out of the question. All of this was omitted from the government documents.

What else was there to do? Research associates, economists, and representatives of the workers' committees worked out an extensive program for regional economic accountability. Some of its points do not comply with the economic concepts and provisions in effect in the country. However, this is quite understandable. After all, the January resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers is named "On Conducting an Experimental Adjustment of the Pattern of Economic Operations Based on Self-Government and Self-Financing in Kemerovo Oblast." Let me stress: experimental adjustment. However, what is to be done if the rug has been pulled out from under the experiment?

The program proposed to the government commission substantially enhanced the July protocol and became its component.

Chairman of the commission, USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman L. Ryabev, having acknowledged that the program is positive, nonetheless refused to sign it? Why? His was a strange monologue. For example, advocating a transition to market relations in the coal industry together with the citizens of the Kuzbass, Ryabev observed that the demand for solid fuel in the country is dropping precipitously. Currently, there are [number indistinct] million tons of it in storage. State orders are at the 84-percent mark. Who does the Kuzbass intend to sell its coal to? Furthermore: You should be grateful to Minister [of the Coal Industry] M. Shchadov for bringing the state order to 89 percent to his own

detriment; otherwise, the oblast would be ruined... Are you going to trade with foreign partners, set your prices for coal independently, and generate funds yourselves? Lev Dmitriyevich said: "Let us assume that I am 'in favor.' However, in this case we will have to deprive you of material-technical supplies, as well as hard currency. You will earn it in the market, and we will take from you the share which is attributable to the region due to oil sales..."

"So, we are talking a complete blockade!" someone shouted from the floor.

In a word, this conversation at the final meeting definitely did not work out.

Indeed, additional work on this document is necessary; this is clear. However, the doubts of committee members are not without foundation. They, as well as many enterprise managers, know (half a year of practical training after the strike) how the issues of granting independence are resolved in the center. Quite recently, the management of the Raspadskaya Mine and Chernigovskiy Strip Mine studied at this "school." They knocked on many doors there but all was in vain. Leasing documents were only signed after the government commission arrived in the Kuzbass.

A snag also developed in the case of the aforementioned resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was adopted in January, when the oblast was supposedly already operating under economic accountability, rather than prior to 1 November, as called for by the July protocol. Even so, it was adopted after an alarming appeal to the government by the workers' council, the oblast party committee, the oblast executive committee, and the oblast council of trade unions. As late as the first days of January a special meeting was held at the Council of Ministers. TASS commented on its results with the following qualification: "...the impatience of the toilers (of the Kuzbass), their desire to accelerate the resolution of pressing issues are understandable. However, every issue had to be coordinated with a specific ministry or department, correlated with overall plans for the development of the country, and harmonized with the decisions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies."

To be sure, this is a correct remark. However, all of this endless "coordination and correlation" looks like a hindrance rather than a breakthrough into the future. Over here, many people no longer wish to spin their wheels.

Military

Yazov Interview on Anniversary of Army, Navy

PM2202180590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, replies to questions by PRAVDA's Military Department; date, place not given: "Defending the People's Security"]

[Text] [PRAVDA] The country is celebrating the 72d anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy at a complex stage of revolutionary transformations. The progress of perestroyka has brought to light many problems and contradictions which have been building up over the decades, the situation in society is distinguished by social tension and even alarm. What is the effect of all these processes on military life?

[Yazov] They have a most direct effect. After all, the Armed Forces are a part of the people, called upon to defend their security and to safeguard our Motherland's freedom and independence. This means that they live the same life as the people, sharing alarms and concerns with all Soviet people. This is a reality which reflects the fact that our Army is a people's Army.

[PRAVDA] How is this fact manifested today?

[Yazov] Primarily in the personnel's growing sociopolitical and service activeness. The Armed Forces actively participate in society's political life. Never before have they been so widely represented—by 83 USSR people's deputies—in the country's supreme organ of state power. Various democratic institutions in the Army and Navy, both the ones which existed before and have now got a second wind and the ones created of late, are getting increasingly fully involved in the development of democratization and glasnost and the solution of practical tasks of perestroyka in the Armed Forces.

I perceive the signs of democratism originating from deep inside the military corpus not only as a manifestation of the fact that our Army is a people's Army, but also as a fertile ground for the perestroyka of military life. And primarily for consolidating the democratic foundations of one-man command laid by Lenin and the party over seven decades ago, for implementing the principles of social justice, for affirming an atmosphere of glasnost, comradeship, and spiritual closeness between officers and soldiers.

[PRAVDA] The perestroyka of the Armed Forces, just as of society as a whole, is a multifaceted, complex, and at times contradictory process. The draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, which has been submitted for nationwide discussion, points out the need to proceed toward military reform. What is the idea behind it?

[Yazov] It is brought about by the objectives, tasks, and content of Soviet society's revolutionary perestroyka. Its foundation is provided by conclusions from an analysis of the present state and future trends of the military-political situation in the world stemming from the new political thinking and the new approaches toward the solution of defense and security problems. We also proceed from the premise that the military danger remains to this day. Naturally, the prospects of the Warsaw Pact organization are also taken into account. Our principled stance on this issue is universally known: We advocate that Europe be freed from military blocs, and that both alliances, the Warsaw Pact Organization

and NATO, be simultaneously disbanded. The way to this lies through the consistent transformation of political-military organizations, their conversion into instruments of political cooperation.

All this is reflected in the concept of military reform. It is well known that it presupposes a substantial transformation of the military system, carried into effect by the decision of the supreme organs of power.

[PRAVDA] What is meant by this?

[Yazov] First, to bring all defense organizational development—and primarily the Armed Forces, their composition, their organizational-staff structure, and their equipment—strictly into line with the USSR's contemporary policy in the defense and security sphere, into line with the defensive military doctrine and the principle of reasonable and reliable sufficiency. With due consideration, of course, for the specific results of the process of negotiated disarmament and the other side's practical actions. Second, to replace the quantitative, extensive paths for solving the tasks of the country's defense, the combat readiness of troops, and their training by intensive, qualitative paths. And third, to implement comprehensive and profound democratization of military life, to radically improve servicemen's social security.

[PRAVDA] Clearly the implementation of such a large-scale plan will take both time and coordinated efforts, not only on the part of the Defense Ministry?

[Yazov] Of course. Not for nothing do the Congresses of USSR People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the country's government devote such great attention to questions of defense organizational development and perestroyka processes in the Armed Forces.

In essence the gradual transformation of various aspects of our defense organizational development, in the context of the perestroyka that started with the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, is now in its fifth year. Since 1987 this work has been taking place on the basis of the new defensive military doctrine. After the decision announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations at the end of the year before last on a unilateral reduction of our Armed Forces by half a million, we began to implement the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

All these are components, important elements of the military reform.

[PRAVDA] Presumably a comprehensive agenda for military reform is being formulated?

[Yazov] Naturally. Its preliminary outlines were drawn up at the time when perestroyka clearly highlighted the need for radical transformations not in individual areas of defense organizational development, but throughout the system on a statewide scale. Today the question of the formulation of a comprehensive agenda for military reform has entered the realm of practicalities. In particular, a special commission consisting of representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet, CPSU Central Committee Departments, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Defense Ministry, and other departments and institutions has been set up to formulate the agenda for the organizational development of the Armed Forces in 1991-95 and for the period through the year 2000. Many proposals will be analyzed and taken into account.

[PRAVDA] Clearly it is worth mentioning the general principles on which this concept is based?

[Yazov] I would mention among these principles, first of all, the **optimization** of the personnel, technical equipment, and organizational structure of the Armed Forces and the training and education of personnel, as well as the combination of regular personnel and draftees, the extraterritorial principle of manning, unity of command on a democratic, law-governed basis, and social justice in cadre policy and the organization of cultural, domestic, and other provisions for servicemen and their families.

[PRAVDA] It must be noted that PRAVDA receives a particularly large number of letters on questions of social justice in the life and work of the Army and Navy. The USSR Supreme Soviet sessions and the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum also discussed the heightened sense of a lack of social provision for officers...

[Yazov] It must be said that it is not in the nature of military men to dramatize domestic privations and upheavals. They are very well aware of the inevitability of objective difficulties arising from the specific tasks fulfilled by the Armed Forces. And they are ready for them. The urgency in raising questions of social provision for servicemen and their families springs from another source—the attempts which have recently become widespread in certain regions to restrict servicemen's rights, in particular their right to elect and be elected, and to discriminate against their families in the provision of housing, the registration and provision of jobs for the wives of officers, warrant officers, and petty officers, and the provision of places in school and preschool institutions for their children. There have been instances of unequivocal threats, outright moral and physical attacks on Soviet servicemen, their labeling as "occupiers," and the creation of an unhealthy atmosphere around the military camps of a number of military units in the Baltic region, Moldavia, and Transcaucasia.

Antiarmy propaganda is taking on ugly forms and there are calls for people to refuse to serve in the Armed Forces. In essence, it is a question of attempts to undermine the people's defense awareness, and sometimes with the tacit consent or even the participation of certain local organs of power.

All this cannot but cause servicemen, and not only them, a quite legitimate sense of indignation. Especially since today thousands of servicemen's families, through the fault of nationalist, extremists and terrorist groupings, have lost their homes and are, in effect, refugees. A paradoxical and absolutely intolerable situation has

arisen whereby the interests of the individuals who make up that section of the people that is charged by the people with defending their security are themselves unprotected.

[PRAVDA] What work is being done at the Ministry of Defense to resolve questions associated with the social protection of servicemen and their families?

[Yazov] Housing is the most acute problem today. Apart from what I have already said, additional difficulties in resolving it have arisen in connection with the current and possible reductions and the withdrawal of units from the groups of forces. In recent years the Ministry of Defense has ensured a stable tendency to increase the volume and pace of the commissioning of housing being constructed using people's own resources. Last year, for example, we commissioned 182,000 square meters of housing more than in 1985. However, there is still a shortage: More than 173,000 families of officers, ensigns, and warrant officers do not at the present time have apartments.

It is perfectly obvious that it is not within the power of the Ministry of Defense alone to resolve all social questions. At our suggestion the government has taken a number of decisions which are lessening the acuteness of these questions somewhat. Including, with regard to improving the supply of housing for servicemen who are transferred to the reserve or who retire, increasing pay, and introducing a number of other material benefits. But, and this was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, a statewide targeted program is needed for the radical resolution of the whole package of these problems.

[PRAVDA] In certain speeches and articles the problem of military reform is reduced to categorical demands to abolish the existing principle of manning the Armed Forces and to create a "professional" Army. What can you say about this?

[Yazov] In my view, such demands are calculated more for outward show than for a really rational and reliable solution to the tasks of the country's defense. Many of those who argue for a "professional" Army confuse two aspects of the problem: the level of training and the system for manning the Armed Forces. Precisely these are the main criteria of professionalism. It would be possible not to focus attention on this, but the trouble is that inaccuracy in defining criteria frequently leads to erroneous conclusions which, moreover, are presented as the ultimate truth. It is alleged, for example, that a "professional" Army can be considerably—two or three times—smaller than one manned on the basis of compulsory military service and, consequently, will require less expenditure.

[PRAVDA] But is this not so? For a better-trained "professional" Army really could be smaller and so cost less.

[Yazov] The point is that the initial premise in this outwardly logical chain is still false. The size of an army, as well as its composition and structure, incidentally, is determined by the level of the real military threat, by the volume of defense tasks, by the state's military policy, its economic, scientific, and technical potential, and the availability of resources, and not at all by the level of professionalism. It is sufficient to recall that the U.S. Armed Forces, which are manned by hired "professionals," are only just a little smaller than ours. Compare—they have 3.3 million people, while we have 3.99 million. And yet the United States, as is known, is in an extremely convenient geostrategic position, bordering only on Canada and Mexico. But the Soviet Union has to cover 60,000 km of border.

As for the thesis of the allegedly better training of a "professional" army compared with an army formed on the basis of compulsory military service, this too is far removed from life. Let us look at our Armed Forces: A considerable part of them consists of professionals—officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and those on extended military service in key combat posts. It is on these, above all, that the realization of the potential of modern weapons and the level of troop combat readiness depend. Inducted personnel fill posts which do not require the professionalism of an officer or ensign.

[PRAVDA] In other words, the transfer of manning of the Armed Forces to a fully voluntary basis would not cause any substantial reduction in the size of the Armed Forces? Does this mean that we cannot reckon on a cut in expenditure as a result of switching to a "professional" Army?

[Yazov] On the contrary, we must reckon on an increase in expenditure. For there will be no radical changes in the defense budget headings providing for expenditure on the purchase of arms and military hardware, on research and development, and on military building. But expenditure under the heading "Army and Navy Upkeep" will increase at least threefold, including a four-sixfold increase in servicemen's pay and allowances. If we take as our base the sum allocated to this year under this heading, it will increase to approximately 60 billion rubles. In other words, additional appropriations of at least R40 billion will be required. In addition, it will take a further R3-4 billion of one-off expenditure to provide facilities [obustroystvo] for "professional" soldiers, sergeants, seamen, and petty officers and their families.

[PRAVDA] That is, it turns out that the very idea of manning the Army on a voluntary basis is unacceptable?

[Yazov] No, it would hardly be correct to reject the idea. For our Army used to be created precisely along voluntary lines. Today, on its birthday, it is appropriate to remember this.

[PRAVDA] The Army made a great contribution to helping in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster and the earthquake in Armenia and to resolving a number of

other tasks in the interests of the whole people. The editors' mail convincingly attests to this. But we sometimes encounter letters which express concern: Will the unilateral reductions and the transformations being implemented in the Armed Forces today not affect their combat effectiveness?

[Yazov] Of course, the large-scale reductions which we are making unilaterally and the radical transformations in the organizational structure and in troop training are closely linked with combat effectiveness and combat readiness. Maintaining them at the necessary level requires of military cadres and of all Army and Navy personnel high responsibility, organization, all possible strengthening of discipline, and great, persistent work. I must say that our Armed Forces' might and training are sufficient to reliably protect the Soviet people's peaceful work and peaceful life.

[PRAVDA] Today Army and Navy servicemen are involved together with internal troops and KGB units in normalizing the situation in the Transcaucasus. You were there at a most tense and complex time. What can you say of the actions of officers and soldiers in such a—quite frankly—exceptional situation?

[Yazov] I will say this: Officers and soldiers have proved equal to the task. Through their restraint, sangfroid, courage, and heroism they prevented a worse tragedy that might have happened: the deaths of thousands of people. They showed profound understanding of their military duty—both patriotic and essentially international duty.

[PRAVDA] Dmitriy Timofeyevich, our conversation has probably turned out not very festive, although it was prompted by a really glorious, nationwide festival—our Army's birthday. I congratulate you, all our servicemen, on the festival!

[Yazov] Thank you very much. As regards the festival, let us recall what Lenin said: The best way of celebrating it is to concentrate on unresolved tasks. In my opinion, this expresses the spirit of our times. And we have many tasks, including as regards the Soviet people's patriotic and international education, the country's defense, the fatherland's protection...

Yazov Decree Enforces Humanitarian Standards

LD2202131890 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 22 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—A decree by Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov has enforced in the USSR Armed Forces international humanitarian law standards and two additional protocols to them, adopted by the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949.

Commenting on this today, Major-General Leonid Ivashov, chief executive officer of the Soviet Defence Ministry, recalled that the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the protocols of the Geneva conventions on August 4, 1989 and in view of this entrusted the USSR Council of Ministers with submitting proposals for introducing changes in Soviet legislation.

Ivashov said that the standards of humanitarian law, enforced in the Soviet Armed Forces by this decree, concern the improvement of the treatment of sick and wounded in the regular Army, the treatment of prisoners of war, protection of civilian population during a war, and also two additional protocols concerning the protection of victims of international armed conflicts and armed conflicts of a non-international nature.

Ivashov believes that the entire system of training in the USSR Armed Forces and the planning of combat operations should be built strictly in line with international humanitarian law standards.

"The enforcement of these standards is totally consistent with the Soviet defensive doctrine and the Soviet state's foreign policy as a whole," Ivashov stressed. He added that this step was also congruent with the recognition of the priority of human values.

Ivashov said that changes taking into account the standards of international humanitarian law would soon be introduced in all normative acts of the Defence Ministry and manuals of the Armed Forces.

"The requirements of the aforementioned documents will from now on be considered even in conducting studies and training," Ivashov stressed.

Ivashov said that units will employ legal counselors to monitor the observance of the standards in the Army and Navy and also to help commanders apply them.

General Moiseyev on Cutting Defense Expenditures

LD2202190790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb (TASS)—The requirements for the defense of the USSR are determined by the concept of Soviet military doctrine, by its defensive thrust, and by the changeover to quality parameters of the construction and development of the Armed Forces, Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, believes. In economic terms this makes it possible to a certain extent to reduce military expenditures and to develop the conversion of the defense industry, and in military terms this makes it possible to take on more advanced and effective equipment and weapons, he said in an interview published in IZVESTIYA today.

As is noted in the interview, the task has been set to reduce by 1.5 to 2 times the share of expenditures on defense in the USSR's national income by the year 1995. According to General Moiseyev, a reduction in purchases of offensive armaments, of certain kinds of aviation and missile equipment, of tanks, of artillery pieces,

and of other kinds of weapons, and the cessation of a whole range of experimental design work will make it possible to reduce expenditures.

"Taking into account that the United States and NATO are on the whole pursuing a course aimed at ensuring military-technical superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, we will continue to be forced to make the necessary efforts to maintain the balance virtually throughout the entire range of weapon systems, communication facilities, management, and intelligence and also to raise the quality of personnel training," the interview says.

"In a few publications the following question is raised: Given the limited nature of our funds does it make sense to resort to similar actions—building heavy aircraft carriers, large nuclear-powered submarines, and other expensive military equipment—the general continues. Here, just as in the conquest of space, one cannot lag behind; afterwards you won't catch up."

At the same time it is stressed in the interview that in the event of progress at the negotiations in Geneva and in Vienna, toward which the Soviet Union is striving sincerely, and the signing of the appropriate accords the levels of military confrontation will be considerably reduced and expenditures on defense will be lowered.

Expenditures on the upkeep of Army and Navy personnel will amount to 21.8 billion rubles this year in the USSR, taking into account pensions, or some 30 percent of all expenditures on defense. At the same time the United States will spend 166.2 billion dollars on the upkeep of personnel, over 50 percent of the military budget. In connection with this the chief of the military staff again came out against turning the Army in the USSR into a professional one. In his view, in such an event expenditures on the upkeep of it will be five to seven times higher than the current ones.

Chekov Discusses Role of Soviet Armed Forces

LD2202200990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] It is Soviet Army and Navy Day tomorrow. The day of our Armed Forces is a nationwide holiday but unfortunately many families of officers and ensigns will be celebrating it far from home. The word refugees has appeared in our vocabulary and servicemen who are still doing military service with groups of troops located beyond the confines of our country are probably concerned about their future. Therefore, the first question which our correspondent put to Colonel General Nikolay Vasiliyevich Chekov, USSR deputy defense minister for construction and the billeting of troops, was about the problem of providing housing for families of officers and ensigns.

[Begin recording] [Chekov] The task is being put in two variants. The first is to install, in the initial period families of officers and ensigns in built houses, apartments; rebuilt buildings which we will reequip for housing; in hostels and hotels. The second stage is the construction of permanent quarters in the salf-same military townlets beginning this year, 1990; and in 1991 and part of 1992, the completion of settling in all arrivals in garrisons of our internal military okrugs. We will not be able to do without the help of our local party and local soviet bodies, because the simultaneous withdrawal of a large number of troops from Eastern Europe in a short time will not permit military builders alone to resolve this program.

[Unidentified correspondent] But to date can you say that you are satisfied with the cooperation between the command of military units and local bodies of power?

[Chekov] Today, on the eve of the holiday, one would not like to talk about this aspect, but unfortunately arrears do exist in the allocation of the necessary quantity of housing, which was determined by a decision of the Council of Ministers, and in the allocation of the share which the local soviets are obliged to provide in Defense Ministry funding. The arrears in these two directions amount today to virtually one year, and all in all, the local soviets are in arrears today to the Defense Ministry to the tune of about 23,000 apartments.

[Correspondent] Evidently there is now a clear need to create a new legal base for the existence of the Armed Forces. I'm thinking of the law on defense, the draft of which, I know, is being considered.

[Chekov] The main basis for the existence of the Armed Forces are laid down in the draft law on defense, from the point of view of their legal protection and from the point of view of their responsibility to the country. Many of the Army's problems were considered at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum and I, as a participant in that plenum, want to draw attention to what was said by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at this plenum to the effect that the danger of war still exists in the world. U.S. and NATO doctrines and concepts, which are far from defensive, remain in force, and their armies and very large military budgets exist. Therefore, our country, our state, needs well-trained and well-equipped Armed Forces today. The services of the Armed Forces to the people and to our state are enormous and this should never be forgotten by anyone.

I would like to convey words of thanks first and foremost to veterans of the Armed Forces; to congratulate the personnel of our Armed Forces, and on our great nationwide holiday, to wish them good health, happiness, and great success in the cause of strengthening the defense capability of our state.

Military Plant Fully Converted to Civilian Use

LD2202145790 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The last production section of the Dneprovskiy machine-building plant has ceased to be a secret zone.

This plant, until recently used for military purposes, has entirely been converted and now produces only civilian goods. Now it turns out domestic refirgerators, microwave ovens, and personal computers.

Number of Combat Aircraft in Europe Reduced

LD2202123190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The USSR has implemented its plan for the removal of combat aircraft within the framework of reductions in its Armed Forces in Europe. As a result of the unilateral move, Air Force Lieutenant-General (Aleksandr Poznakov) says the number of Soviet planes has been reduced by 800 machines. Some of the aircraft, the general stressed, will be melted and the rest will be used as simulators at military schools.

Military Blamed for Turkmenistan Ammunition Thefts

PM2202161990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent M. Volkov report under the "Incident" rubric: "Grenades Just Lying Around"]

[Text] Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—The agitation in the republic is no longer a joke. This is not in any way surprising. A group of overmischievous juvenile residents of a small town near Ashkhabad decided late one evening to break into a nearby military unit's compound. They cut the barbed wire with one of their fathers' wire cutters and, not encountering anyone, got inside an ammunition dump by breaking the locks on the heavy gates. Beyond them they discovered real combat ammunition.

They took away almost more than they could carry. And then spent a whole month amusing themselves by setting off explosions just out of town. But their stocks ran out before they got fed up with this particular amusement. They decided on a repeat raid. Another successful one.

"How could anything like this happen?" Militia Major A. Tebuyev, deputy chief of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Criminal Investigations Administration, repeated my question. "The whole point is that it's all so very easy. Judge for yourself—the military have entrusted the protection of such an important installation to... grannies from the civilian staff."

"All this is happening against the background of rising crime in the republic," Kh. Begdzhanov, deputy chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee State and Legal Department, commented. "The crime situation is tense, and yet military ammunition dumps are guarded by civilian staff. We asked the Turkestan Military District leadership to step up the safekeeping of combat ammunition, but the answer we got was strange, to say the least: There are no soldiers to be spared... Who, if you don't mind, will sweep the parade grounds and wander aimlessly around cities and settlements?"

"In today's complex situation we are entitled to expect from the military if not assistance, then at least exemplary service. In order to prevent any similar 'surprises' in the future," K. Tachmamedov, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs, summed up our conversation. "In reality, the picture is extremely unpleasant. We are quite frequently forced to divert major forces from their direct duties. For example, last year we had to fish more than 3,500 combat shells from the bottom of a body of water in Iolokanskiy Rayon. And yet it seems as if the 'loss' of one or two grenades seems to be nothing extraordinary."

Govorov Attends Marshal Chuykov Commemoration

PM2202111790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4

[Unidentified correspondent report: "Dedicated to V.I. Chuykov"]

[Text] A ceremonial soiree dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the birth of the outstanding military leader and twice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of the Soviet Union V.I. Chuykov, has been held at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army.

The soiree was opened by Army General V. Govorov, chief of USSR Civil Defense and USSR deputy defense minister. A report on Vasiliy Ivanovich Chuykov's military career and life was delivered by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Kurkotkin. Army General I. Shkadov; Army General P. Lashchenko; Colonel General V. Grekov, retired; and Lieutenant General A. Potemkin, retired; shared their reminiscences.

The soiree was attended by representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, servicemen from the Moscow garrison, and military comrades, family, and friends of V.I. Chuykov.

Visit to Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff

PM2102141490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[A. Gorokhov report on visit to Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff, incorporating report on interview with Colonel General S.G. Kochemasov, chief of Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff; date of interview not stated: "The Rocket Age"]

[Excerpts] They are not keen on "explorers" here. Of course, it would be tempting to report that "a journalist has never before set foot here," for pure show. But in this case it would not be very appropriate.

Here at the Main Staff of the Strategic Rocket Forces, a key component in our nuclear triad, they not only demand, figuratively speaking, that you wipe your feet carefully, they even try to make sure that outsiders' feet do not tread here at all.

Glasnost, in a certain sense, of course, ends—and quite rightly so—at the first checkpoint, where the inspectors painstakingly check your documents and the car number against their records, and only then allow you into the camp, which is more like a whole town with stores, cafeterias, a post office, an Officers' Institute, sports facilities, and a farm plot. [passage omitted]

Writing about the strategic rocket men has always been difficult: Censorship restrictions are firmer on these questions than on any others. I believe we have failed, unfortunately, to report fully on the thousands of officers who have served over the last 30 years (what is 30 years? In terms of length of service, it is equivalent to one man's entire career, from the rank of lieutenant onward).

My interviewee today is Colonel General S.G. Kochemasov, chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff. He is 55, and I have known him for 33 years. We first became acquainted in the year that the first Soviet R-5 strategic combat missile, a Korolev, with a nuclear charge, came into service; naturally, we had no idea of its existence. We both entered the first year at the Kharkov Higher Aviation Engineering Military Academy at the same time.

Realizing that you can never get anything out of Stanislav Grigoryevich, even in a friendly way, about the hardware, I took a roundabout route.

On the way to the Main Staff I recalled how perplexed I was, long ago, when I read the poems of the cosmodrome poet Ivan Miroshnikov, especially these: The Earth rests on "rocket pillars," and only this saves it from World War III... Ivan's gone too far there, I thought! The world doesn't need props! It was only later that I came to understand that the term "nuclear deterrence" applies directly to our forces too.

"After all," Stanislav Grigoryevich says, "we succeeded in a short space of time in creating a new science and industry, a new branch of the Armed Forces. Of course this played a part, a kind of stability emerged, the world did indeed rest on rocket pillars..."

[Gorokhov] "Of course, rockets are a prop, but aren't the three whales safer?" [reference to myth that the earth is supported by three whales]

Kochemasov laughs:

"True enough, but we are living in the rocket age. And the main thing is that we have pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, under any circumstances..."

The logic of the political thinking based on military-strategic parity (to achieve this parity and thereby persuade the "probable enemy" to start talks, the Soviet Union had to deploy more than 1,000 ICBM's) invariably turns out the same way on the main points, even if some details do not entirely coincide.

"Life is life," the general observes, "the missiles are on alert duty, some at fixed installations, others mobile, others on board submarines, others again in the bomb bays of heavy bombers. And no one has repealed the combat orders yet..."

Our conversation is calm and detailed, and because of the late hour it is scarcely interrupted by telephone calls. But in various places all over the country thousands of officers are sitting at control panels, watching for the main signal that could be the first and last...

In the last 30 years, that is, throughout the existence of the Strategic Rocket Forces, to the honor of both sides, the prerequisites for so-called unauthorized actions have not occurred. This is to the credit of the military: They know better than anyone what kind of weapons they have and what could be the consequences of their use (or rather, there will be no one to assess these consequences).

Yes, there was the so-called Berlin crisis, and then the Caribbean crisis, there were times when the nuclear forces of both sides were "on the alert." But in the end reason prevailed, and that is why we are still here on Earth. There were also "internal" difficulties, when experimental missiles exploded, and once there was a case when, in the course of regulation work, a missile without its nose cone dismantled, "left" the launcher of its own accord and fell not far from the launch pad. But, I repeat, historians of the nuclear missile forces have not recorded prerequisites for unauthorized actions.

Meanwhile both here and over there politicians and military men "are aware that the further lessening of international tension depends largely on the development of strategic arms" (!). That, alas, is the present-day dialectics. It seems Homo sapiens has applied the full force of his mighty intellect to driving himself into a philosophical and moral impasse.

For instance, solely in the common European home that we are all so keen on, there are more than 9,000 nuclear charges, with a total yield of more then 800 megatonnes. That is not counting the Soviet potential.

"Do I—as a military man—have the right to forget that?" Kochemasov asks, and answers his own question: "In the United States they are not yet planning to curtail programs for creating third-generation nuclear weapons, the pace of work is not slackening, steady financing is assured. If we stop, they will quickly go ahead."

[Gorokhov] As I understand it, Stanislav Grigoryevich, the Missile Forces have a high degree of potential for countering American programs, with a minimal level of expenditure.

[Kochemasov] Precisely. This is due, for instance, to the specific characteristics of our forces, which possess a high degree of combat readiness, tenacity, and the capacity for implementing asymmetrical countermeasures. Furthermore analysis shows that none of the American programs will give the United States decisive unilateral superiority.

[Gorokhov] So is this another impasse?

[Kochemasov] That is not right. Mutual understanding is needed.
[Gorokhov] Of what?

[Kochemasov] Of the fact that it is impossible to achieve unilateral advantages. That should be the basis for strategic arms reduction and the implementation of our peace initiatives. What is needed, I repeat, is equivalent, simultaneous reductions, to "zero," with strict verification; experience of verification has already been acquired in the course of the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This could be organized in the strategic arms sphere too. In my view this is entirely realistic.

[Gorokhov] Another point: Did not Chernobyl show that all of us, from the Atlantic to the Urals, are in a sense hostages? Even without the Strategic Rocket Forces?

[Kochemasov] I agree, even without nuclear weapons one can do irreparable damage to the European home... [Kochemasov ends]

One way or another, our conversation has not yet gone further than the confrontation between the strategic nuclear forces of just two sides. But Britain and France have nuclear systems too. And as far as I know these systems are not being limited at all, but, on the contrary, tend to increase. Naturally, deep cuts in strategic offensive arms are desirable, they accord with the USSR's desire for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, but clearly they can take place only on condition that the nuclear systems of other states are reduced and there is a general lowering of the level of military confrontation in the world. Meanwhile nuclear missile technology is literally proliferating across the planet. Does this worry the Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff?

[Kochemasov] Undoubtedly. Say nuclear missile weapons fall into the hands of irresponsible, incompetent people. What then? Any use of such weapons could provoke World War III. That is a terrible danger. I believe that only serious collective measures can halt this alarming trend.

[Gorokhov] Suppose a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms is concluded. Will the forces be able to "squeeze out" something for the national economy?

[Kochemasov] Naturally. We will hand over some of the commandeered land, various installations, and manufacturing equipment. And our own expenditure on operating arms, on construction, and on manufacturing will be reduced. In the context of possible reductions, the implementation of the defensive doctrine gives rise to the need significantly to increase the endurance and survivability of arms, military equipment, and personnel in the event of a nuclear attack.

[Gorokhov] But this once again requires additional expenditure?

[Kochemasov] In order to increase survivability we have to increase the number of mobile launchers in the armory, while at the same time reducing the silo launchers. True, the costs of developing a mobile ICBM grouping are higher than the costs of stationary missiles. Increasing the persisting operability of combat control in the conditions of possible nuclear aggression also takes considerable funds. And even the elimination of weapons does not cost the state nothing. In my view all this should be taken into account both in assessing the additional funds available to the national economy in the context of the reduction of the Strategic Rocket Forces, and in financing their qualitative development... [Kochemasov ends]

It is getting late. I ask a last question: Will the role of the Rocket Forces as the main component of the USSR's strategic nuclear forces persist even in the event of 50-percent cuts, and is there any need even to seek to preserve that role?

[Kochemasov] Clearly, even with deep cuts in strategic offensive arms there is no need to disrupt the correlations that have developed historically.

[Gorokhov] I hear a representative of the Rocket Forces speaking.

[Kochemasov] Not at all. Any change in the existing structure would lead not only to considerable costs for the development of those components of the strategic nuclear forces in which we lag behind the United States, but also to an inevitable decline in the potential of the nuclear forces in general, that is, to the violation of the strategic nuclear parity...

Servicemen Hospitalized After Drinking Antifreeze

PM2102112790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 First Edition p 4

[Correspondent Captain Second Rank M. Lukanin report under the rubric "Happenings": "Nighttime Barracks 'Feast'"]

[Text] On the morning of 15 February patients with symptoms of serious poisoning began to be admitted to the Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Naval Garrison Hospital. By midday the total number of those hospitalized had reached 22. All the victims were drafted servicemen.

What had happened? The previous evening subunit personnel who had been employed on clearing the water surface and sorting scrap metal had returned to the barracks as usual. At the suggestion of unit employee V. Kazitsyn, shield station watch stander, who, incidentally, was taken on for this work after a two-year stay in a medical-labor preventive clinic for alcoholics, the sailors took with them a jerrican of antifreeze—an industrial liquid containing poisonous ethylene glycol. It is now being said that Kazitsyn heated the antifreeze, supposedly to drive off poisonous vapor, and then drank

two large glasses. If the seamen had known that they were watching a suicide (Kazitsyn died soon after), they might have come to their senses.

In the evening a "feast" began in the barracks, in which, strange though it may seem, persons from the daily detail also participated. Petty Officer Second Class V. Ishchuk, subunit duty officer, poured out the "strong stuff" with a generous hand.

But then military medics intervened.

"The patients' condition is extremely grave, and some are in a coma. Fatalities cannot be ruled out," Medical Service Colonel M. Medzhidov, hospital chief, described the situation.

A team of navy medics arrived in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy from Vladivostok by a special flight. A decision was made to send the poisoned men the same day to medical establishments in Khabarovsk and Vladivostok, where there are "artificial kidney" machines. However deplorable, there is not a single such machine in the whole of Kamchatka. And this in a seismic zone.

The garrison military prosecutor's office has begun investigating the case of mass poisoning.